

# TIME

## Manopause?!

Aging, insecurity and the \$2 billion testosterone industry

BY DAVID VON DREHLE





## It's driven enough miles to cross the country dozens of times. Without ever leaving its zip code.

When you have a family, cross-town becomes the new cross-country. But that doesn't mean the Volkswagen Passat isn't equipped for adventure. Quite the contrary, it'll help you navigate the greatest adventure of all, parenthood. Host more pick-ups and drop-offs than most taxis, daily commutes, and countless late-night pizza runs. And with Volkswagen having more vehicles on the road with over 100,000 miles than any other brand\*, it's no wonder why so many families choose to grow up in a Passat. It's built to go the distance, even if the distance never strays far from home. **That's the Power of German Engineering.**

[vw.com](http://vw.com)

\*2012 Passat shown. Your experience will vary and depends on many factors, including driving habits and vehicle maintenance/repairs. Global calculation of total vehicles with over 100,000 miles per brand based on iStockroom Alpha ([www.istockroomalpha.com](http://www.istockroomalpha.com)) (average mileage per year date and 195 Automotive Park global registrations of 2001 models and older in 49 countries, as of November 2013. ©2014 Volkswagen of America, Inc.

Das Auto.



# Conversation

## What You Said About ...



**PUTIN'S POWER** Simon Shuster's report on Russia's behavior before and after the Malaysia Airlines crash prompted an outpouring from readers, some of whom were chilled by memories of Hitler. "The leaders of the free world, cowards

all, especially the European leaders, will have only themselves to blame for whatever the tin-pot dictator Putin does next," wrote Bruce McPhee of West Yarmouth, Mass. **"Bullies don't understand subtle actions like sanctions,"** added James McIntyre of Streetsboro, Ohio, suggesting a "punch in the nose" approach to Putin, like removing Russia from the U.N. Security Council. Others took issue with TIME's cover line. "This dustup in Ukraine, while tragic, is no Cold War," said John Graham of Alameda, Calif. And although he praised Shuster's article, Tom Powell of North Myrtle Beach, S.C., did not appreciate the images of the Malaysia Airlines crash site: "Your readers don't need to see the gruesome remains of these victims to understand how horrendous this crime was."

**ISRAEL VS. GAZA** "Kudos to Joe Klein," wrote Judy Eisenman of Quincy, Calif., for supporting some of Israel's actions in Gaza while other media paint Israel as "an unspeakable monster." Others, like Valerie Weiss of Kapaa, Hawaii, countered, **"Not a mention of Israel's blockade of Gaza's port, airport and borders ... leaving Gazans in an open-air prison with only the barest of supplies."**

**COMMUNITY SANS PRAYER** Josh Sanburn's report on the rise of atheist "churches" was welcomed by many readers. "Faith in your fellow man and a desire for like-minded fellowship are evidence of **an ability to believe in something bigger than one's self,**" wrote David Fraser of Clearwater, Fla. A war-weary Jane Parrish of Columbia, Md., found the piece refreshing after "reading about the bloated bodies in the Ukraine and the dead children in Gaza. Those who want a sense of community care about other people. I say their movement can serve good."

## Write to us

Send an email: [letters@time.com](mailto:letters@time.com). Please do not send attachments

Send a letter: Time Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020. Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

### NOW ON MONEY.COM

Which colleges give the most bang for the buck? MONEY ranked 665 four-year U.S. schools, factoring in tuition cost, alumni earnings and educational quality. The overall top five are below; see the full list at [money.com/colleges](http://money.com/colleges).

**1**  
**\$59,700**  
(average graduate salary within five years)

**BABSON COLLEGE**

**2**  
**\$65,400**  
**WEBB INSTITUTE**

**3**  
**\$68,600**  
**MIT**

**4**  
**\$56,100**  
**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY**

**5**  
**\$61,300**  
**STANFORD UNIVERSITY**

**NOW ON LIGHTBOX** As the death toll rises in the war between Israel and Hamas, TIME profiles two photographers—Oliver Weiken and Andrew Burton—who have spent weeks covering the opposing sides. "I try to be as invisible as possible yet still be close and actually capture a moment," says Weiken, who's working in Gaza. See more at [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com).



**▲ SCHOOL UNDER FIRE**  
A Palestinian girl who was injured at a U.N. school that was hit by shells receives care at a hospital in Gaza



**▲ WALKING WOUNDED**  
Injured Israeli soldiers are escorted to a relief helicopter near Kfar Aza, Israel, about two miles from the Gaza border

### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In "Woody's Illusion" [Aug. 4], we misstated the title of the film *To Rome With Love*.

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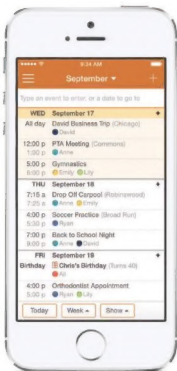
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# Briefing

## Lyft

The ride-sharing service was granted the right to operate in New York City



GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK



## Uber

A software glitch revealed its once private client ratings to users

## 2044

Year targeted for shuttering the largest coal-fired power plant in the U.S., located in Flagstaff, Ariz., under a new EPA proposal to reduce pollution



## 4

Number of acting governors California had over a recent four-day span, while Governor Jerry Brown and his lieutenants attended out-of-state events

'We will make  
no apologies  
for our  
engagement.'



**JOHN KERRY**, U.S. Secretary of State, responding to Israeli claims that Kerry is seeking a cease-fire in Gaza that is too favorable to Hamas

'We don't want any contact  
with anyone.'

**FAYA IROUNDOUNO**, 17-year-old president of a youth league in Kolo Bengou, Guinea, whose members have brandished machetes and slingshots to stop health workers from entering their village; they fear that outsiders might carry the deadly Ebola virus

'It's all a  
scam  
started by  
Democrats  
at the White  
House.'

**JOHN BOEHNER**, U.S. Speaker of the House, reacting to rumors that the House Republican leadership may seek to serve President Obama with impeachment papers



'IT'S NOT  
A NEW  
COLD WAR.'

**PRESIDENT OBAMA**, after announcing that the U.S. would impose new sanctions against key sectors of Russia's economy—energy, arms and finance—for Russia's failure to curb violence in eastern Ukraine



## 2

Amount of gold, in grams, that Dubai is offering to families for every kilogram of weight they lose this summer, in an effort to curb obesity (especially among kids)

'Violence isn't  
the victim's  
issue. It's the  
abuser's.'



**MICHELLE BEADLE**, host of ESPN's *SportsNation*, after fellow anchor Stephen A. Smith warned women against "provoking" wrong actions" while covering Ray Rice's two-game suspension for domestic violence; Smith was suspended for a week

Briefing

# LightBox

## Hills Ablaze

A devastating wildfire rages near Yosemite National Park in Northern California on July 27. Brush fires occur every summer, but the blazes have become larger and more frequent as the state endures a record-breaking drought.

Photograph by Stuart Palley

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK,  
GO TO [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)





# World

## Controversy Follows Kerry's Middle East Trip

Two weeks ago, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry couldn't wait for the opportunity to try to broker an end to fighting between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. "We've got to get over there," he told an aide in a call caught on a hot mike on July 20. "I think it's crazy to be sitting around." A day later, he traveled to Cairo—quickly moving on to Jerusalem and Ramallah—hoping to get Israel and Hamas to back an Egypt-brokered cease-fire to end hostilities. But he returned to Washington empty-handed amid a swirl of controversy and escalating violence.

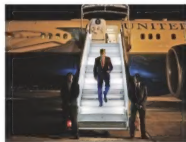
Kerry managed to secure a 12-hour cease-fire on July 26. "Then, as the rollover time for that occurred, regrettably there were misunderstandings about 12 hours vs. 24, four hours vs. 24," he said publicly as the deal unraveled. Rocket attacks from Gaza and Israeli strikes on Hamas resumed amid the failure.

Israeli officials anonymously accused Kerry of giving Hamas a "prize for terror," leaking a draft proposal to extend the cease-fire. The Israelis said the truce favored the militant group's interests over their security concerns, fraying relations between Israel and the U.S. Israeli officials ob-

jected that the terms did not include provisions to demilitarize Gaza or explicitly allow for the destruction of Hamas tunnels into Israel. Hamas rejected the terms anyway.

"It's simply not the way that partners and allies treat each other," U.S. State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki said, asserting that the draft presented to the Israelis was based on the Egyptian agreement they'd already accepted earlier.

Despite the controversy, U.S. officials say the Secretary of State will remain the Obama Administration's point person on attempts to broker an end to the hostilities, an aim reiterated by Kerry himself. "Now there are some in America who question... our efforts to bring peace to various conflicts around the world," he said on his return to Washington on July 28. "I think they ought to ask, What's the alternative?"



Kerry arrives in Paris for talks on Gaza with foreign leaders

### LIBYA

## 'Shots were fired at our vehicles but all safe.'

**MICHAEL ARON**, U.K. ambassador to Libya, in a tweet after an attack on a British embassy convoy on July 27. The convoy safely crossed the border into Tunisia as Britain and several other Western countries—including the U.S. and Germany—evacuated most or all embassy personnel from Tripoli amid the worst violence in the Libyan capital since the fall of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011.



IS CLIMATE CHANGE LARGELY THE RESULT OF HUMAN ACTIVITY?

The pollster Ipsos MORI put the question to people in 20 countries. Here's a sampling of how many said yes:



93%  
China



80%  
India



70%  
Japan



64%  
Australia



54%  
U.S.



## THREE ESSENTIAL FACTS ABOUT Ukraine's push into rebel territory

The Ukrainian military intensified its assault on territory controlled by pro-Russian rebels in the country's eastern region following the downing of a Malaysian airliner on July 17, bringing the front lines of the three-month-old conflict within miles of the crash site.

**► DEADLY TACTICS** Using tanks and armored vehicles, Ukrainian forces have managed to shrink rebel territory by more than half, though they have yet to cut off the separatists' supply lines from Russia. When faced with fierce resistance, the Ukrainian military has resorted to intensive shelling of rebel-held towns, pushing the conflict's death toll as of July 26 to more than 1,100, including hundreds of civilians.

**► THE REBEL RESPONSE** The assault has forced the militias to retreat from the countryside to the three cities they still control and prepare for urban warfare. Though the rebels are outgunned and badly outnumbered, their arsenal of anti-aircraft missiles, like the one suspected of downing Malaysia Airlines Flight 17, has claimed several of Kiev's fighter jets and transport planes.

**► WHAT'S NEXT** The U.S., citing satellite imagery, claimed on July 27 that Russia had begun firing rockets across the border at Ukrainian troops. It was the latest sign of Russia's commitment to supporting the rebels, even at the cost of international isolation and a full-scale war if Ukraine responds in kind.



## A Blessed Holiday

**INDONESIA** Muslim women attend prayers on 'Id al-Fitr, which marked the end of Ramadan, the Islamic holy month of fasting, on a beach in the city of Yogyakarta on July 28. An estimated 1.6 billion Muslims around the world celebrated the occasion. In Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim-majority nation, some 30 million people traveled to their hometowns to celebrate the end of fasting. *Photograph by Ulet Ifansasti—Getty Images*

### EXPLAINER

## West Africa's Ebola outbreak

The Ebola virus has killed more than 670 people across West Africa since February, prompting global worries as the outbreak spread from Liberia to Nigeria, the continent's most populous country.



### Highly Fatal

So far, the outbreak has killed roughly 60% of those infected, compared with a death rate as high as 90% in past epidemics. The virus, which spreads through direct contact with bodily fluids such as saliva or blood, has no treatment or vaccine.



### Strict Containment

Liberia has closed nearly all its borders, and Nigeria—where the first Ebola fatality occurred on July 25—is screening passengers on all inbound flights for symptoms. Officials say social stigma and denial about the disease may be fueling the outbreak.



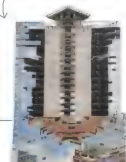
### Concerns Abroad

There are worries about the possibility of an infected person's carrying the virus beyond the region, potentially via air travel. For now, the risk to those outside the affected areas is low, but American health officials have asked U.S. physicians to be vigilant.

### VENEZUELA

# 3,000

Estimated number of squatters in a 45-story tower in Caracas dubbed the world's tallest slum. Authorities began forcing them out in late July



## Trending In



### NEGOTIATIONS

Mali's government and Tuareg separatists in the country's northern desert region agreed to work toward a peace deal



### SPORTS

Vincenzo Nibali won the Tour de France, becoming the first Italian winner of the bike race since Marco Pantani in 1998



### RELIGION

Chinese officials removed two more crosses from churches as part of a campaign against public symbols of Christianity



### TERRORISM

Islamist militants killed at least 21 people, many of them women, when they opened fire on a convoy of vehicles in the southern Philippines.



# Nation

## Prison Math Data analysis can predict criminal risk. Can it deliver equal justice?

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

PRESIDENT OBAMA HAS MADE REDUCING America's enormous prison population a centerpiece of his second term, supporting reforms that could roll back jail time for up to 46,000 federal inmates and pushing new rules for sentencing. His chief lieutenant in this campaign, Attorney General Eric Holder, has been outspoken about the relationship between criminal justice and civil rights. But now Holder is questioning a method of thinning the prison population that has been embraced across the country.

Over the past decade, dozens of states have begun using massive databases of crime statistics to determine the odds that an offender will commit another offense. These risk-assessment tools take into account factors like antisocial behavior, prior convictions and age of first arrest. Judges, corrections workers and parole officers have in turn used these assessments to cut sentences for low-risk offenders and reduce prison time for others. Reliance on the sort of statistical analysis popularized by Michael Lewis' 2003 book *Moneyball* has increased everywhere from conservative Texas to liberal Vermont as a way to smartly reduce the prison population while lowering costs for cash-strapped states.

But just as bipartisan legislation moving through Congress is set to mandate the use of risk-assessment tools in federal sentencing and corrections, Holder is slamming the brakes. His worry: that using factors that inmates can't amend, like geography or criminal history, as part of the formula will codify existing biases that already disproportionately affect African Americans, resulting in 20% longer prison terms for young black men than for other offenders.

"I'm really concerned that this could



**Imprisoned by stats** Holder is trying to curb reliance on data-based sentencing

lead us back to a place we don't want to go," Holder says. The stakes are high. The number of U.S. prisoners has risen 500% since 1980, to more than 2.2 million in 2012; 95% of them will be released at some point.

Holder isn't completely against *Moneyball*-style data analysis. He supports risk-assessment tools built around inmates' behavior, measuring things like personality patterns and known associates. And he's fine with statistical analysis of criminals already in jail—so-called back-end assessments—as long as all offenders, including high-risk ones, can try to earn early release.

Supporters of the broad use of data-driven criminal justice—and there are many—say Holder's narrow approach won't work. "If you wait until the back end, it becomes exponentially harder

to solve the problem," says former New Jersey attorney general Anne Milgram, who is now at the Arnold Foundation, where she is building risk-assessment tools for law enforcement. Prior convictions and the age of first arrest are powerful risk factors for reoffending and should inform whether a convict goes to prison or not, experts say.

The states are unlikely to be persuaded by Holder, not least because data-driven corrections have been good for the bottom line. Arkansas's 2011 Public Safety Improvement Act, which requires risk assessments in corrections, is projected to help save the state \$875 million through 2020, while similar reforms in Kentucky are projected to save it \$422 million over 10 years, according to the Pew Center on the States. Rhode Island has seen its prison population drop 19% in the past five years, thanks in part to risk-assessment programs, according to the state's director of corrections, A.T. Wall.

Holder's best chance of success is at the federal level, where more than 200,000 prisoners are incarcerated. Time is of the essence: bills from the House and Senate that reform sentencing and corrections are expected to be reconciled quickly and sent to Obama for his signature before the end of the year.

**"I'M REALLY CONCERNED THAT THIS COULD LEAD US BACK TO A PLACE WE DON'T WANT TO GO."**

—ERIC HOLDER, U.S. Attorney General

# Revenge of the Also-Rans

## Third-party pols heat up 2014

BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL

For most of the modern era, third-party candidates have acted like the crazy uncles of American politics: fun to watch but rarely relevant. But in the past four years, the outcomes of four Senate races have been jumbled by outsiders, and this year is set to deliver even more disruption.

Ten of the 12 Senate seats with the potential to swing in November have drawn third-party challengers. Nine of those races have Libertarian Party candidates who are likely to pull votes from Republicans. That's hardly news for Senate minority leader Mitch McConnell, who is hoping his party can take six seats and regain control of the Senate, but who may have to contend with a Libertarian challenger of his own in Kentucky's general election.

The question now is how much of a difference third-party hopefuls will make in the outcome of the fall contests. In the razor-thin race in Georgia, outside candidate like Libertarian Amanda Swafford, a paragon and former

city councilwoman who started her own newspaper, have drawn up to 7% of the vote in early polls. In North Carolina, Libertarian Sean Haugh, a pizza deliveryman, has rated in the high single digits in early polls, far more than the gap separating the two major-party candidates there.

The Libertarian boom grows out of Tea Party estrangement from Establishment Republicans and should, at the margins, benefit Democratic candidates. But even the most strident anti-government candidates may draw some Democratic votes this year.

The volatile mix of angry voters and long ballots might even delay the election's outcome. In Louisiana's free-for-all contest, two outside candidates look likely to deprive the two main hopefuls, Democrat Mary Landrieu and Republican Bill Cassidy, of an outright win of 50% of the vote, forcing a runoff scheduled for Dec. 6. If control of the Senate hangs on that race, the nation will have to wait until then to learn who rules the chamber.

**Senate Spoilers**  
Third-party candidates loom large this November

A Libertarian could help incumbent **Kay Hagan** (D., N.C.)



Two outside bids could tip the balance in a race Democrats are banking on **Michelle Nunn** to win in Georgia



A crowded ballot may force **Mary Landrieu** (D., La.) into a runoff



## SPEEDING UP SECURITY

The TSA is offering \$15,000 in prizes for ideas to reduce the loathed lines at airports. Our modest proposals:



**Ban phone calls**  
Silencing the cell-phonics will calm us down and speed things up.



**Make overhead bins pricier than checked baggage**  
Fewer bags to screen means shorter waits. And airlines should have to deliver checked bags within 15 minutes.



**Use diversions**  
"If you can reduce the stress, the complaints would plummet," says Dick Larson, who teaches queuing theory at MIT. Bring in comics, magicians or even mimes. Then we'd have something to gripe about besides the TSA.

## The Rundown

**VETERANS** Congressional negotiators reached a \$17 billion deal on July 27 to aid the scandal-plagued health care system run by the Department of Veterans Affairs. The bipartisan measure allocates money for hiring more doctors, upgrading facilities and covering private care for some vets.

**GUNS** A federal appeals court upheld a Florida law on July 25 that discourages physicians from asking patients if they own guns, reversing a lower-court ruling striking down the law because it infringed on doctors' free-speech rights. Judge Gerald Tjoflat wrote in his majority opinion that guns are a "private matter irrelevant to medical care."

## DEBT 35%

The percentage of Americans with credit records being pursued by collection agencies over unpaid debts, according to an Urban Institute study released on July 29. Most of the debtors are in cities in the South and West, like Las Vegas, where nearly half the population has been reported to a collection agency.

**LABOR** McDonald's can be held liable for labor and wage violations at franchises, the National Labor Relations Board's general counsel determined on July 29. If upheld, the decision would be a major victory in the fast-food workers' fight to unionize and obtain a \$15 minimum wage. In the U.S., 90% of McDonald's restaurants are franchises.




If the acquisition pans out, Google will get a lot more than a quickly growing audience. Because video games must be beamed at higher frame rates to capture the action, Twitch has developed unique streaming-video technology. That could be important to YouTube's profitability and revenue growth as the site pivots from shorter clips toward more polished, television-style shows and live broadcasts. (Twitch has already hosted live events such as New York Comic-Con and E3.) Translation: another TV frontier under YouTube's control—and, potentially, better online video for the rest of us.

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GALAXY Tab S

A woman with long dark hair, wearing a pink top and blue jeans, stands with her arms crossed. A young girl with dark hair, wearing a green jacket and blue jeans, stands behind her, hugging her from the side. They are both smiling at the camera.

*"As a mom, when you know better,  
you do better."*

Holly Robinson Peete

## keep momming.

Being a Mom means being the one person my daughter Ryan can count on. It's just what I do.

But when I noticed she was daydreaming often, having a hard time focusing on her homework, and struggling to focus during conversations with her friends, I was at a loss.

So we went to Ryan's doctor, and he diagnosed her with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). Turns out there are 3 types of ADHD (Inattentive, Hyperactive/Impulsive, and Combined) and Ryan has Inattentive ADHD. Since inattentive symptoms like hers may be less noticeable than hyperactive and impulsive symptoms, it's important that moms like me know what to look for. I'm so glad we found out what was going on.

Sound familiar? Get the ADHD Symptom Checklist, then talk with your daughter's doctor.

[keepmomming.com](http://keepmomming.com)

keep momming

# Milestones



Shelly Sterling outside the courthouse in Los Angeles on July 28

CLEARED

## A Clippers Sale

NBA team is good to go

For the Los Angeles Clippers, a national nightmare finally appears to be over. On July 28, a probate judge in California ruled that Rochelle "Shelly" Sterling can proceed with the team's proposed \$2 billion sale to ex-Microsoft CEO Steve Ballmer. (The decision will become official when the judge files his written version.) Her estranged husband, disgraced Clippers owner Donald Sterling—who called his wife a "pig" at one point during the proceedings—tried to block the transaction but to no avail. The judge invoked a section of California law that permits the deal to go forward if and when Sterling makes any appeals.

The ruling is a huge win for the National

Basketball Association, which banned Sterling for life, fined him \$2.5 million and declared that he must sell the team after recordings of him making racist remarks went public in late April. Star Clippers point guard Chris Paul talked about possibly boycotting games if Sterling were still in charge at the start of next season. At a time when the NBA, whose players are largely African American, is thriving, the league desperately wants to avoid an ongoing racial scandal.

Despite the generous \$2 billion price tag for a franchise he purchased for about \$12 million in 1981, Sterling has filed other lawsuits and threatened to file more. "I will never, ever, ever sell this team," Sterling said during his testimony. "And until I die, I will be suing the NBA."

At this point, however, it's not really clear what he's still fighting for. —SEAN GREGORY

DIED

**Author Bel Kaufman**, at 103. Her best-selling 1965 novel, *Up the Down Staircase*, about a young teacher dealing with the New York City school system, was based on her experiences.

NOMINATED  
Rabbi David

**Saperstein**, for the position of U.S. ambassador at large for international religious freedom. Saperstein will be the first non-Christian in the role.

DETAINED

Washington Post correspondent **Jason Rezaian**, along with his wife Yeganeh Salehi and two American photographers, in Tehran. The reason for the arrests is unclear.

HONORED

A dozen new recipients of the **National Medal of Arts**, in a White House ceremony. This year's honorees include Linda Ronstadt, Jeffrey Katzenberg and James Turrell.

AWARDED

A \$1.8 million judgment to former Minnesota governor and wrestler **Jesse Ventura**, by a federal jury who found he was defamed in the 2012 book *American Sniper*, by late Navy SEAL Chris Kyle.

DIED

## Ebola Doctors In a risky fight

By Dr. William A. Fischer II

The reality of Ebola is this: the care needed to help an infected patient survive is inextricably linked to the exposure that threatens the life of the health care worker.

The outbreak raging through West Africa has killed prominent doctors Sheik Umar Khan and Samuel Brisbane and led to the infection of two American health care workers. This news is a reminder of the risks these heroic providers face.

"The first rule of infectious disease is 'Don't get the infectious disease.' The second rule is 'Always follow the rules.'" This advice was given to me by Dr. Myron Cohen, division chief for infectious diseases at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, before I left to treat Ebola-infected patients in Guinea. But the rules are more than a *Fight Club*-inspired motto. While Ebola is one of the deadliest viruses known, transmission can be prevented through strict hand hygiene and barrier protective clothing. The rituals that accompany the application—and more important, the removal—of personal protection equipment are critical. These rituals are the rules.

With knowledge of and respect for the rules, health care workers can mitigate the risks to safely provide the critical care support so desperately needed. Yet we have been reminded that the risks never truly go away.

Fischer is a doctor at the University of North Carolina School of Medicine



# Rana Foroohar

## Call In the Trustbusters

Thirty years of “bigger is better” merger logic needs a total rethink



RUPERT MURDOCH'S 21ST CENTURY

Fox wants to take over Time Warner. Comcast wants to buy Time Warner Cable. AT&T and DirecTV may hook up to compete against them.

T-Mobile and Sprint are looking to connect, as are any number of other large communications firms, not to mention technology and pharma giants. We are in a new golden age of mergers and acquisitions—M&A activity was up sharply in 2014 and is already at pre-financial-crisis levels. Now bankers are salivating at the billions of dollars in fees such deals generate. The question is, Will the deals be any good for the rest of us?

Since the early 1980s, antitrust regulators like the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission have tried to answer that question by asking another: Will a given merger bring down prices and improve services for consumers? If the answer was even remotely yes, then the merger—no matter how big—was likely to go through. But voices on all sides of the antitrust debate are beginning to question whether that rationale is actually working anymore.

Nobody would argue that the megamergers that have taken place over the past 30 years in pharmaceuticals, for example, have brought down drug prices. Or that the tie-ups between big airlines have made flying more enjoyable. Or that conglomerate banks have made our financial system more robust. “Merging companies always say that they’ll save money and bring down prices,” says Albert Foer, president of the American Antitrust Institute, a think tank devoted to studying competition. “But the reality is that they often end up with monopoly power that allows them to exert incredible pressure in whatever way they like.” That can include squeezing not only customers but also smaller suppliers way down the food chain.

TAKE THE BOOK BUSINESS, FOR EXAMPLE. Though publishing is minuscule as a percentage of the economy, it has recently become a focal point in the debate over how our antitrust system works (or doesn’t), mostly because it illustrates the incredible power of one corporation: Amazon. In 2012, the Department of Justice went after tech giant Apple and a group of five major book publishers for collusion, winning a case against them for attempting to fix the prices of books. The publishers argued

their actions were a response to anticompetitive monopoly pricing by Amazon. Apple is appealing.

Did the verdict serve the public? Many people, including star trial attorney David Boies, say no. Boies, who’s been representing large firms on both sides of the antitrust issue as well as the DOJ over the past several decades, says the verdict is “a failure of common sense and analysis.” Regulators often bring collusion cases, for example, because they are relatively easy to prove. Yet in this case, argues Boies, it led to an outcome in which the entrenched market participant, Amazon, was strengthened, and new participants—Apple and the book publishers—that hoped to create a competing platform in the e-book industry were shot down. “The result is that Amazon gets bigger, and eventually regulators will have to go after them,” says Boies. “We really need a more realistic, commonsense view of antitrust enforcement.” Amazon declined to comment.

THE “BIGGER IS BETTER” ETHOS OF THE 1980s and 1990s grew not only out of conservative, markets-know-best thinking. It was also fueled by a belief on the left that antitrust enforcement was wasteful and that regulating big companies was preferable to trying to stop them from becoming too big in the first place. Neither side got it right. Big companies aren’t always concerned first about the welfare of their customers—or particularly easy to regulate. The idea of letting companies do whatever they want as long as they can prove that they are decreasing prices may be far too simplistic a logic to serve the public—or even the corporate—good. Amazon shares have tumbled as investors worry about the future of a company that has so successfully compressed prices that it generates as much as \$20 billion in revenue a quarter but no profit.

How to fix things? We need a rethink of antitrust logic that takes into consideration a more complex, global landscape in which megamergers have unpredictable ripple effects. We also need a new definition of consumer good that encompasses not only price but choice and the kind of marketplace diversity that encourages innovation and growth. Tech and communications firms today are like the railroads of old: it will take a strong hand to rein them in. That’s a task not for regulators but for Congress and a new Administration. Until then, with corporate coffers full and markets flying high, the big are only likely to get bigger. ■

### LET'S GET TOGETHER



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## Begging for Impeachment

To improve its standing with voters, the White House tries to drum up some trouble for itself



AT 10:02 ON FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 25, I received the following personal message from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee: "THE IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT OBAMA IS NOW A REAL POSSIBILITY." The capital letters were in red. This was a blast email, of course, sent to everyone on the Democratic Party's fundraising list, and also to political journalists. It referred to some very calculated remarks that White House communications director Dan Pfeiffer had made earlier that day about impeachment: "I think Speaker Boehner, by going down the path of this lawsuit [against the President], has opened the door to Republicans possibly considering impeachment at some point in the future."

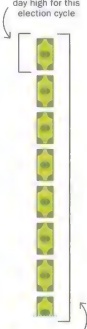
This was the beginning of a half-crazed weekend begathon by the Democrats. The next afternoon: "Sorry to email you early on a Saturday—but we're on full RED ALERT at Democratic Headquarters ... According to our records, you haven't chipped in since Republicans authorized a vote to sue President Obama." (Or ever chipped in, for that matter.) And Sunday: "MAJOR UPDATE: House Republicans held a closed-door meeting to discuss impeaching President Obama." On Monday I received a cranky email from Obama himself: "Joe Biden has emailed you. Michelle has emailed you. And now I've emailed you. We wouldn't all be asking if it wasn't so important. Right now, Republicans in Congress are trying to sue me for simply doing my job." Later that day, the DCCC re-sent me that email: "Did you see this? President Obama emailed you this morning."

**H**OLY MOLEY. THERE IS CLEVERNESS TO THE onslaught, of course, a classic use of a political tactic known as jujitsu: take your opponent's feral vehemence and roll with it. No doubt, Pfeiffer is right. There is a chance that the Republicans will try to impeach the President, especially later in the summer, after he announces a major Executive Order that will affect a large number—millions, perhaps—of the illegal immigrants now in the country. There is speculation that it will be a further expansion of the legal status he conferred on children brought into the U.S. illegally by their parents; perhaps the parents will now be included. There is likely to be an explosion if he does this—the Central American refugee crisis on the U.S.

### ROLLING WITH THE PUNCHES

**\$1 MILLION**

Total donations made to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee on July 28—a one-day high for this election cycle



**\$7.6 MILLION**

Total raised online by the DCCC, from 400,000 donations, since the announcement of the House's lawsuit

TO READ JOE'S BLOG POSTS, GO TO [time.com/swampland](http://time.com/swampland)

Mexico border has made immigration the hottest of domestic issues. It is also the most toxic issue for Republicans, who hope to win the presidency someday—and the Senate this November.

John Boehner has said there will be no impeachment. That's why he instituted a rather silly lawsuit against the President over—yet again—Obamacare, which aides say could be expanded if Obama goes for broke on the border. Boehner is trying to placate the GOP base. But he also promised that there would be no government shutdown in 2013 and got trampled by his troops. The Speaker knows there's nothing the Democrats would rather have than impeachment and immigration as the dominant issues in the fall campaign. He also knows there's nothing Rush Limbaugh would rather have; indeed, it would be a ratings bonanza—the base would go berserk. And on the other end of the Republican evolutionary spectrum, a leading conservative thinker, Yuval Levin, has said the Executive Order that Obama is contemplating would be "the most extreme act of executive overreach ever attempted by an American President in peacetime." There might be no stopping the primal fury unleashed by what the Republicans are calling "executive amnesty."

**S**O, THIS IS SMART STRATEGY ON THE PART OF the Obama political operation, right? Well, grudgingly, yes. But it's also cynical as hell. The White House is playing with fire, raising the heat in a country that is already brain-fried by partisan frenzy. There is something unseemly, and unprecedented, about an Administration saying "Bring it on" when it comes to impeachment. Bill Clinton's White House certainly never did publicly, even though it was clear from polling that the spectacle would be a disaster for Republicans. Of course, Clinton had done something immoral if not impeachable, and Obama has not. Another impeachment ordeal would be terrible for the country.

Also terrible for the country, if all too common, is the DCCC's impeachment begging—and the President's constant fat-cat fundraising in a summer of trouble. What if he simply said, "I'm done with fundraising. This is an important election, but there's just too much going on in the world right now"? His political folks would hate it, but I suspect it might be more effective, and presidential, than sending out tin-cup emails. ■



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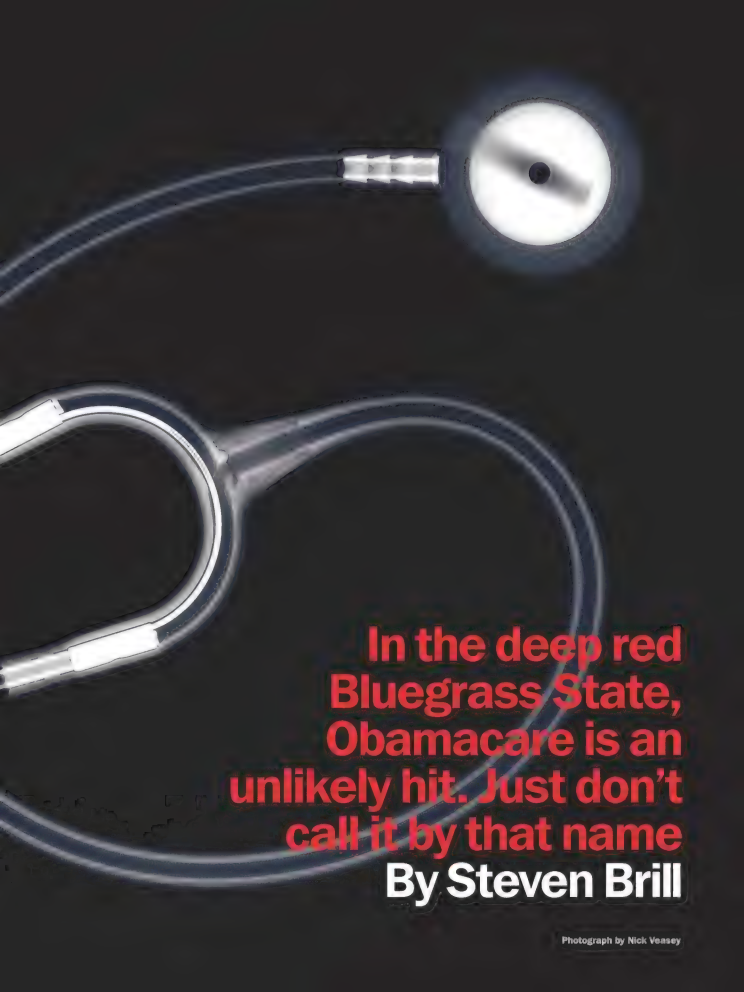


[worldwildlife.org/solar](http://worldwildlife.org/solar)

NATION

# How Kentucky Got It Right





**In the deep red  
Bluegrass State,  
Obamacare is an  
unlikely hit. Just don't  
call it by that name**

**By Steven Brill**

Photograph by Nick Veasey



ABOUT A YEAR AGO, ON AUG. 22, A TEAM OF INSPECTORS from the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) unit of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services arrived in Frankfort, Ky., to see if the people working out of a nondescript warehouse there were going to be able to pull off the launch of Kentucky's Obamacare health-insurance exchange.

Kentucky was one of 14 states, plus the District of Columbia, that had opted to build its own version of the Obamacare exchange; the federal government, through CMS, was building an exchange to offer insurance in the other 36 states.

There was less than six weeks to go before the scheduled Oct. 1 debut, in Kentucky and nationally, of what was perhaps the most complicated e-commerce venture ever envisioned.

The various plans—"bronze," "silver," "gold," "platinum"—offered by multiple insurance companies in different regions of each state would somehow have to be presented in an intelligible way to consumers.

Consumers would then have to establish their identities by answering a series of security questions that would have to be checked instantaneously.

They would then have to be told the amount of the subsidy the government would offer them to help pay the premiums for each plan, based on a complicated formula that depended on what they listed as their income. And that claimed income would have to be checked in real time with the Internal Revenue Service.

In short, there was a lot for the CMS inspectors to worry about when they got to Kentucky.

They need not have worried. Over the past year, Kentucky's health care website has proved to be a huge success. More than a half-million Kentucky residents have signed up for the Bluegrass State's version of Obamacare. A majority of Kentuckians approve of it. That this has happened in a deeply red state is unexpected but hardly an accident.

This is the story of how one state, led by Governor

Steven Beshear and a team of smart, determined career civil servants, got it right—by preparing exhaustively, by dealing frontally with the system's challenges and by celebrating rather than soft-pedaling the reality that Obamacare is a social-welfare program intended to help the poor and the middle class get health care coverage. It's also a story about how the politics of Obamacare has played out differently in Kentucky compared with much of the rest of the country. Which helps explain why the Affordable Care Act, as put into place elsewhere, may never become as broadly popular as Social Security or Medicare—even if it survives as long as those programs.

In some circles, that continues to be a big if. Nearly a year after its launch, Obamacare is under constant fire from Republicans and is the target of lawsuits designed to tear it apart. One U.S. Court of Appeals in July ruled in favor of Obamacare in one such suit, while another ruled against it. The dueling decisions could set up another possible—though long-shot—test for the Affordable Care Act at the Supreme Court.

## A Launch That Worked

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE FRANKFORT WAREHOUSE A YEAR ago should have happened in every state—and in Washington. For three days, "the federal people put us through the paces," recalls Beshear, a Democrat who had embraced Obamacare as an especially important initiative in a state with some of the nation's worst health care statistics.

Beshear had put together a team led by veteran state health programs administrator Carrie Banahan and Christopher Clark, a state engineer whom Banahan had lured out of retirement. Together they supervised a contracting team from the Deloitte consulting firm.

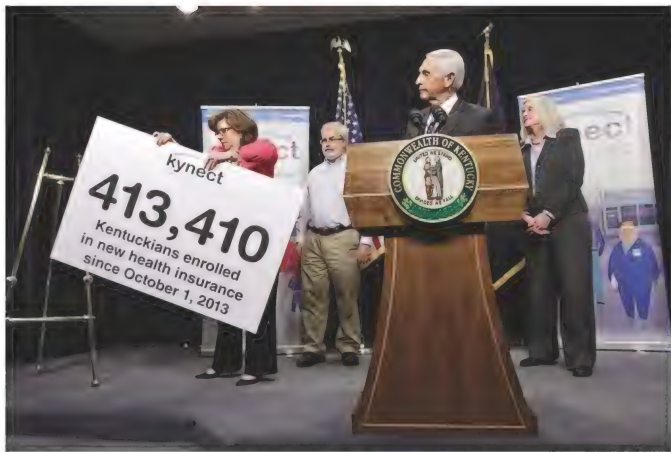
Hundreds of consumer scenarios—different incomes, different immigration statuses, different choices of insurance plan—were tested from beginning to end to make sure everything worked the way it was supposed to.

"They put us through the wringer," says Clark. "But we had already done all the testing ourselves, so we were fine."

It was, it turned out, the feds who were in trouble. Back at CMS headquarters in Baltimore on Aug. 22, another group from CMS was reviewing a report about the federally run health-insurance exchange, called HealthCare.gov, that was going to offer insurance in the 36 states that, unlike Kentucky, were not going to offer their own state-branded websites. The report, from the lead outside contractor for the federal website, the Bethesda, Md., office of the Canadian-based firm CGI, was grim.

Together, the CMS and CGI teams went over pages of spreadsheets listing items that still had not been completed for the federal website covering those 36 states. As was reported three months later in the *Washington Post*, for each unfinished item, CGI had listed its level of confidence that the work would be completed on time. A majority were rated—incorrectly, it would turn out—"high" or "medium" rather than "low." But even many of those given a "high" confidence level were described by CGI as being dependent on the performance of other contractors.

*Brill, who a year ago wrote TIME's special report "Bitter Pill: Why Medical Bills Are Killing Us," is writing a book about the business and politics of health care, to be published this year by Random House*



**A winner** Governor Steve Beshear watches health and family-services secretary Audrey Haynes, left, update Kynect's numbers as exchange director Carrie Banahan, right, looks on

Two days later, on Saturday, Aug. 24, a memo from the CGI contractors to CMS reported that 62% of the exchange was now built. Without 100%, there could be no end-to-end testing of the kind being completed that same day in Kentucky by the same government agency.

Within days of the Oct. 1 launch, the difference would be clear. The Obama Administration's federal website crashed in a stunning debacle. Meantime, Kentucky's exchange hummed along. By the next morning, only six people had somehow managed to enroll on the federal exchange; Kentucky had enrolled 1,833.

On Oct. 8—by which time Kentucky had signed up 8,462 people, while the near dead federal exchange had enrolled perhaps 300—President Obama called Governor Beshear.

"He thanked me for showing the world that this can work," Beshear recalls. Then, Beshear says, Obama added only half-kiddingly, "Hey, Steve, you have any computer people you can lend me?" Beshear's computer people stayed in Kentucky, but Obama was able to bring in a rescue squad from Silicon Valley that repaired his website by Dec. 1.

The federal exchange recovered, and by the end of the initial enrollment period in spring, the Obama Administration was able to beat the Congressional Budget Office's original projection of 7 million total enrollments in the federal and state exchanges by more than a million people. An additional 5 million enrolled in Medicaid across the country.

Even after the recovery of the federal exchange, Kentucky continues to outshine its big brother in Washington. Of that 13 million enrolled nationally for private insurance on the exchanges or for Medicaid, Kentucky has pulled in

521,000. That's an astounding 82% of the state's uninsured population, a percentage far above the national totals.

But beyond the numbers, there is a political difference. Obamacare continues to be a loser or at best a toss-up politically across much of the country. In Kentucky—one of the reddest of red states, where Obama lost to Mitt Romney 60% to 38% in 2012 and would surely lose by more today—Obamacare is a winner.

Only it's not known as Obamacare. It's called Kynect, the name Beshear smartly gave it in the run-up to the launch.

Polls consistently report that voters in Kentucky approve of Kynect, even if they voice disapproval when asked about Obamacare. Again, Kynect is Obamacare.

On Oct. 4, three days after the launch, Kentucky Republican Senators Mitch McConnell and Rand Paul wrote an op-ed in the Louisville *Courier-Journal* headlined "KENTUCKIANS NOT BUYING OBAMACARE."

"The governor likes to tout his so-called discounts for health insurance," they wrote. "What he won't tell you is that most Kentuckians won't receive them ... As so often happens when our friends on the left set out to fix a problem, their ideas, however well-intentioned, end up hurting the very people they sought to help. That's just what we're seeing with Obamacare."

### The Patients React

THAT AFTERNOON, I WAS IN A COMMUNITY CENTER IN Shelbyville, Ky., where Beshear's team had set up a Kynect enrollment station. As he got up from a card table, Tommy Brown, 63, and his wife Viola, 62, were all smiles.



**Hard sell** *Obamacare remains unpopular nationally, and yet in Kentucky its local variant is both widely subscribed and a hit*

"Everything go O.K.?" I asked.

"Perfect," Brown said.

In 2007, while hauling merchandise at the auto-parts wholesaler where he worked, Brown had fallen and broken his neck and crushed five vertebrae in his back. As a result, he continued to suffer from severe nerve damage and had not been able to work for the past three years.

Before that he had fought off two bouts of cancer.

Once he was unable to work, Brown was also unable to get insurance. Every insurance company, he said, "turned me down because of my condition or wanted to charge me a price that was way out of my league." He had not seen a doctor in so long, he told me, "I have no idea who my doctor is."

Because Brown was 63, he had been able to receive about \$1,100 a month by opting for early Social Security benefits. He and his wife, who were about to celebrate their 46th anniversary, lived on that and food stamps.

Viola Brown had heart disease and severe diabetes, which she was able to get checked up only occasionally at a free clinic.

Neither of the Browns could afford any of the medicines—for pain relief, heart disease or diabetes—that a doctor would have prescribed for them or that the clinic doctors told Viola to use. "When we had money, we would buy the drugs," Viola told me. "When we didn't, we would go without."

On the day we met, she too had not seen a doctor of any kind, even one at a clinic, in more than two years.

Now, at the Shelbyville community center, the Browns had just been helped by an enrollment assistant, called a Kynector, to sign up for Medicaid. All their care would be free, and generic versions of any drugs they needed would

cost a dollar each, they were told. They were already talking about making appointments to see doctors.

"I just did a little dance in there when they told me we had been enrolled," Viola told me. She was near tears but all smiles. "And you know, it's hard for me to dance," she added.

Why was that?

"I only have eight toes left because of the diabetes."

### **The Politics of Kynect**

SHELBYVILLE IS IN SHELBY COUNTY, WHICH VOTED 64% to 36% for Romney over Obama. The Browns are white, as is 90% of Shelby County's population. Yet Beshear's insistent message—that people should check out how little the coverage would cost—seemed to have gotten through. What they were doing at those card tables was not about Obama. In fact, no one mentioned Obamacare, except for the one enrollee who said that Kynect was "a lot better than Obamacare."

Such stories have changed health care politics in the Bluegrass State. McConnell—who is in a hard-fought race to retain his Senate seat—is no longer writing op-eds attacking the health-reform law. He's not talking much about it at all.

McConnell's newfound reticence may have something to do with the fact that more than 1 in 10 Kentuckians have taken advantage of Kynect, which probably means that everyone in the state either just got coverage or knows someone who did.

In fact, in late May, McConnell, who as Senate minority leader led the fight against Obamacare, awkwardly attempted to walk what may become a new third rail in Kentucky politics. Responding to a reporter's question about

the apparent success and popularity of the law in his state, he said that while he still wanted Obamacare to be repealed, he saw no reason people getting their new coverage from Kynect would have to lose it.

When I asked McConnell campaign spokeswoman Alison More to clarify how people could keep Kynect if the subsidies and Medicaid expansion provided by Obamacare were repealed, she insisted that I put the questions in writing. I did, but I never heard back except to get a boilerplate statement a week later that McConnell "supports replacing it [Obamacare] with commonsense reforms that actually lower costs for patients."

McConnell's Democratic opponent, Kentucky secretary of state Alison Lundergan Grimes, has been approaching the issue just as tentatively from the other direction. Apparently sensitive to the popularity of the law among those benefiting from it but worried about supporting anything linked to Obama, she has said Obamacare should not be repealed and taken away from Kentuckians but that changes should be made. However, she hasn't specified what those changes would be.

I asked Grimes spokeswoman Charly Norton whether Grimes would have embraced the law by setting up her own exchange and marketing it heavily and personally the way Beshear did. Would she have chosen to expand Medicaid as he had? Norton said she would have to get back to me. I never heard from her.

### Obama's Legacy or Albatross?

"I'M NOT GOING TO TELL ALISON HOW TO RUN HER CAMPAIGN, but I would embrace it," said Beshear, who is term-limited and cannot run for re-election in 2015. "And by the fall I wouldn't be surprised if she does."

Across the country, however, polls continue to show that more people disapprove of Obamacare than approve of it. The difference in Kentucky is not just about a website that functioned well from the start.

Beshear and his team did a smarter job setting expectations and anticipating hurdles. For example, they were unafraid to acknowledge how complicated buying health insurance would be for consumers. Let alone consumers buying it for the first time. Rather than tout, as the President did, that logging on to Kynect would be as simple as buying an airplane ticket online, the Kentucky team prepared from the start to guide people through the complicated process of buying insurance, especially for the first time.

They took full advantage of federal funds available to deploy specially trained assistants—those Kynectors, like the ones who helped the Browns—at all enrollment centers to guide consumers through the process. And unlike the federal exchange, they included on their website a tool for people to search for insurance agents who could help them enroll (and be paid by the insurance companies for doing so). In fact, 44% of the Kentucky enrollees on the exchange used an agent.

More important, Beshear's basic sales pitch was better because, unlike Obama, the Kentucky governor was unafraid to highlight what Obamacare really is: a massive new government income-redistribution program providing health insurance, through subsidies and the expansion of

Medicaid, to millions of people, like the Browns, who could not otherwise afford it.

Across the country, 87% of all those who bought insurance on the exchanges got subsidies, while everyone who got added to the Medicaid rolls got coverage for free.

Enroll America, a nonprofit organized by Obamacare advocates to encourage people to enroll nationally, reported that many people did not even know that generous subsidies were available to help pay for premiums. Enrollment would have been even higher, the report concluded, if officials had done more to highlight the subsidies and emphasize the low cost of getting coverage.

Of course, in a political climate where anything that smacks of income redistribution is a liability, that was something the Obama team was not likely to do. Beshear—whose state is so disproportionately poor that 80% of the people coming to Kynect got Medicaid—had no such compunctions.

That also may explain why, while Obamacare may not help McConnell or hurt Grimes, it is not likely to generate the same kind of partisan loyalty for Obama and Democrats generally that Medicare and Social Security did. Unlike those two entitlement programs, which are for everyone, Obamacare is a program for the uninsured and the underinsured. That's a minority of Americans, maybe 25%. Everyone else gets health insurance from their employers, is protected by Medicare or was poor enough to qualify for Medicaid before the law expanded it.

Moreover, Medicare and Social Security provide a free benefit (though it is paid for by taxes). Except for those receiving new Medicaid coverage, people have to pay for Obamacare. In fact, they are required to pay for it if they do not have any other insurance.

And even those who bought insurance on the exchanges—with those generous subsidies—will still have much to complain about when insurance companies dispute a claim or when they have to pay out-of-pocket costs because of deductibles and co-insurance requirements that they don't understand. Their complaints will be about Obamacare, because that is the name many associate with the new insurance that the new law encouraged—indeed, forced—them to buy.

The majority of Americans who are completely unaffected by Obamacare, like those with insurance paid for by their employers, are also likely to have complaints about Obamacare. Even before the law took effect, when their employers raised their deductibles or co-payments, many blamed these benefit cutbacks on the new law, despite the fact that they had been raising deductibles and co-payments for years.

Indeed, by pushing his health-reform plan, the President, as one of his senior advisers put it to me, "was taking over ownership of health care in America. It's a complicated, often terrible system, and now he will be blamed for everything that does wrong."

Obama deserves great credit for taking that on and for doing it mostly to help the minority of Americans, like the Browns in Kentucky, who would never get health care without it. But while Steven Beshear may be lionized in Kentucky, Obamacare is not likely to put Barack Obama up there with FDR or LBJ anytime soon. ■

After the first day of Obamacare, only six people had enrolled on the federal exchange. Kentucky had enrolled 1,833





WORLD

# DESPERATE VOYAGERS

Children are leaving Honduras by the thousands and heading north. Fear of gangs and the promise of prosperity have created a refugee crisis for Barack Obama *By Ioan Grillo/San Pedro Sula*

**Fleeing north**

*Women and children wait at a bus terminal in San Pedro Sula to begin their journey to the U.S.*

Photographs by Ross McDonnell for TIME

**A** CHUBBY 17-YEAR-OLD IN A POLO shirt and baggy pants is Barack Obama's latest problem. His name is Antonio, and he lives 1,725 miles (2,775 km) from the White House in one of the world's most murderous cities. Since April, five of his friends have been gunned down—three killed together by gangs as they rode in a car, two shot dead on a street corner. Antonio took a bullet in the calf last year, leaving him with a limp and a scar. Now he says he has two options: get his own gun or flee Honduras and get to the U.S., where he has an uncle living in Louisiana.

"God has helped me survive until now. But I need to get out of here," he explained while keeping his head low in the back of a car, after asking that his surname not be used for fear that local gangs would target him for talking to a journalist. "I dream about being able to walk down the street without looking over my shoulder thinking someone is about to kill me."

Antonio's fear radiates in all directions. His neighborhood here in San Pedro Sula is controlled by the Mara Salvatrucha, a heavily armed gang thousands strong that spans Central America. He grew up with some of its members and has helped watch the street for them. But he doesn't want to join—a process he says involves carrying out an initiation murder. In other neighborhoods, rival gang Barrio 18 is the threat, ready to gun down anyone with ties to the Mara. Antonio is even wary of police and soldiers, who he says can be nervous and trigger-happy as they patrol. "You have to watch everybody," he says. "You need eyes all over the place to survive here."

He is not the only one looking for a way out. More than 43,000 unaccompanied minors from Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador have crossed into the U.S. since October, a flood 10 times as large as in 2011. Some go to be reunited with parents. Some go for jobs or because they incorrectly believe that Obama has promised amnesty to those who make it over the border. But one of the biggest reasons, according to surveys by the U.N. and others, is fear of the criminal gangs that shape lives back home.

That brutal fact has transformed the violence of Honduras into an unexpected—and confounding—domestic and foreign policy challenge for the U.S. In a rush to find places for the children to live, com-

munities from Oracle, Ariz., to Syracuse, N.Y., have split over whether to accept new facilities for unaccompanied migrants, even as school districts mobilize to find spots for the children before the start of the coming school year. The tense and acrimonious politics of immigration in Washington, meanwhile, has become even more deeply scrambled by the crises, with Democrats divided over what to do and Republicans in a newfound position of power. So far, congressional leaders in the House have rejected Obama's request for \$3.7 billion in emergency funding, including about \$300 million in new foreign aid to Central America. "We all recognize that we have to do more to address the root causes of the problem, and that includes poverty and violence in Central America," Obama said on July 25 after meeting with the leaders of all three countries at the White House. "We have a shared responsibility."

#### Torn by War

IN CHAMELECÓN, ONE OF THE MOST VIOLENT suburbs of San Pedro Sula, police have four patrol cars for an area with about 170,000 people. They keep a map of the city with rival gang territories indicated by color, and they trace the gangs' weekly territorial gains in pencil. In the contested zone between the Mara Salvatrucha and Barrio 18, houses lie abandoned, with old clothes, photos or food packages left by residents before they fled. The gangs chased the people away, police explain, to create a buffer zone so enemy gunmen can be caught before they infiltrate.

Miriam Hernandez and her 4-year-old grandson were among those who left their home for a nearby suburb. "They would have killed us if we hadn't gone," she said. "They were not just teenagers but also older guys with pistols and rifles." At another home, an older woman refused to move. The gangsters shot her dead two months ago, police said. She had two teenage grandchildren living with her; the officers were not sure where they have gone.

For years, the gangs made their money through what the Mara and Barrio 18 call the *impuesto de guerra*, or war tax. Not only do taxi drivers, bus companies and small shops have to pay it, but larger firms and independent professionals also complain of being shaken down. The judicial system cannot handle the menace. "It is very



hard to fight this extortion," says Captain Cesar Jhonson, a spokesman for the Honduran National Police. "We need citizens to come forward and testify against the gangs, but we understand they are scared for their lives."

In recent years, shifts in the cocaine trade have made life here even worse as Latin American cartels found new local partners in Honduras after crackdowns in Mexico and Colombia. In 2009, Julian Aristides González, then Honduras' antidrug czar, told *TIME* that the new alliances would lead to major violence. Five days after the interview, assassins on a motorcycle killed him with 11 bullets. Since then, his prediction has been realized. The murder rate in Honduras,



Another day, another death  
A forensics team gathers evidence at a bar where a man was gunned down while drinking in San Cristóbal, a neighborhood in San Pedro Sula, often called the murder capital of the world

a country of about 8.6 million people, shot up to 7,172 in 2012, the highest in the world outside a declared war zone—a ranking it still holds. In recent years, authorities report that the gangs have increased their targeting of regular civilians, forcing children to choose between safety and joining the gangs and even trying to impose taxes on families that receive money from relatives overseas. Organized-crime groups started marketing their services to ferry children and families to the U.S., promising that Obama was handing out legal papers in El Norte.

For the Honduran government, the violence, extortion and false promises of safety have led to a desperate call for

international help. “In the United States, many officials see the drug problem as basically one of health, as how much it costs to treat an addict and stop them getting involved. But for us it is life and death,” Honduran President Juan Orlando Hernández told *TIME* during an interview in the grandiose presidential palace in the heart of the sprawling, chaotic capital, Tegucigalpa. “Never in Central America, particularly in the Northern Triangle and in Honduras, has there been so much loss of life as in this decade. Never. Never in history. And look, disgracefully, this is not an issue that originates in Honduras.”

Hernández calls for a joint security effort akin to Plan Colombia, a campaign launched in the late 1990s that helped the

Andean nation fight drug traffickers and cocaine-funded guerrillas. Money could be used to bolster security forces so they could take back Honduran neighborhoods from gangs like the Mara and cartels, he says. Hernández also wants cash funneled into social programs to give young people better options than signing up with the gangs. He points to Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, which was even more violent than San Pedro Sula in 2010: murder rates there have since plummeted, thanks to social investment and other factors.

White House officials say change will take years and will require far more than external funding. Countries like Colombia and Chile are also sending aid, and the E.U. has been inching toward increased



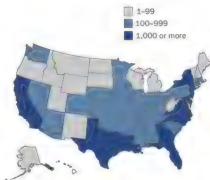
*Returnees* A young woman and child arrive back in Honduras after being deported from Mexico on their way to the U.S. border

economic assistance. "You can't import a solution," says one Obama Administration official working on the funding request. "You can provide technical assistance, but it has to come from inside."

### A Political Wave

IN THE U.S., THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION has been working on two rule changes that it hopes will dissuade Central Americans from heading north, even if the violence does not immediately abate. The first would allow Hondurans to apply for refugee status from their home country, a measure meant to dissuade people from making the trip in a gamble for residency. The second—and far more controversial—change would alter a 2008 law that requires that unaccompanied minors from Central America be placed "in the least restrictive setting" available for

**Number of unaccompanied children released to sponsors, by state\***



\*From Jan. 1 to July 7, 2014

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

TOTAL  
**30,340**

the child, which often means with relatives or in foster care.

This allows the youths to attend school and live their lives before deportation proceedings begin, a process that can take years. The result, say officials, is that many young people find themselves living better—if temporary or undocumented—lives in the U.S. than they had at home, even if they don't qualify for refugee status. U.S. officials worry that this has created an incentive for more children to travel north, as they hear from friends and relatives who have found new living arrangements.

But most Democrats in Congress have so far bucked the President's efforts to make deportation more immediate, with everyone from Nancy Pelosi to Hillary Clinton saying the President has it wrong. They worry that some minors may not be properly screened at the border and



Left in disarray Many homes in the Chamela barrio sit abandoned after residents were forced to leave because of rampant gang warfare

will be sent back to dangerous situations. The consequences could be fatal. "If that happens, some of these children will be murdered. It is not a question of if. It is a question of when," says Elizabeth Kennedy, a Fulbright fellow who has studied the Central American youth fleeing north for the past year.

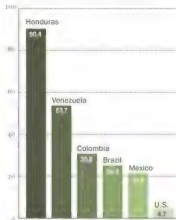
If there is any good news, it is that the flood of children has slowed since June, with about half as many showing up in July. But that still means the tide is near historic highs. All the persuasive power of the U.S. pales next to the lure of safety and the promise of prosperity. In the Honduran town of Choloma, a 30-year-old smuggler with a tattoo on each eyelid described his job taking groups of migrants for the past two years, after a five-year stretch at La Mesa Prison in Texas for selling drugs. He works for an organization that charges \$6,500 for each migrant, he says. However,

as an employee, he makes only about \$750 for each trip. His organization pays \$1,500 per migrant to the drug-trafficking Gulf Cartel to ensure safe passage through their territory in northeastern Mexico and over the Rio Grande into Texas. If migrants get turned back on the first trip, he says, they get a second chance without paying more.

Asked about the increase in child migrants, the smuggler says with conviction, though much less accuracy, "They are giving out permits in the United States."

That's false, but the pitch still draws children like Antonio north, despite a new round of television advertising paid for by the U.S. State Department that warns Hondurans not to believe the smugglers. It is a temptation that is hard to resist. As Antonio puts it, still ducking to avoid the gaze of gangsters, "I love my country, but what future do I have here?" ■

**Homicide rates, by country**  
Rate per 100,000 people in 2012



# Save the Animals With African rhinos and elephants being killed by the thousands, rangers are stepping up their conservation efforts

Photographs  
by David  
Chancellor

*Heave-ho Wildlife  
rangers prepare to  
relocate a troublesome  
elephant from the  
Ol Pejeta Conservancy  
to Meru National Park*





IT IS A LAST KINDNESS. A MAN IN CAMOUFLAGE takes out a knife and severs the horn of a rhinoceros, depriving the animal of its most iconic feature. The poachers who have killed this animal have fled, leaving behind their prize: the keratin that makes up the horn. It's a substance so valued for its use in traditional Asian medicine that vast numbers of rhinos are being slaughtered for it. Severing the horn will keep it off the black market. Even in death, the rhino must be maimed to be saved.

That's a measure of just how dire the present has become for the rhinos and elephants of Africa. After years of relative calm, trafficking in species like elephants and rhinos doubled from 2007 to 2013, largely to meet the growing demand for ivory and other animal products from the rising consumer class of Asia. By some estimates, wildlife trafficking is the fourth largest international crime, carried out by global criminal syndicates, for whom the trade is almost as lucrative as drugs but far safer. There's even evidence that poaching now fuels terrorism—militant groups like Somalia's al-Shabab derive a portion of their income from wildlife trafficking.

But in the face of this loss, there are those who fight back. David Chancellor's photographs document the work of the Northern Rangelands Trust, a Kenya-based NGO that has helped community conservancies learn to protect the wildlife they live alongside. Sometimes that means protecting people, as when an ornery elephant is relocated to reduce human-animal conflict. But often it's the hard, dangerous battle against wildlife trafficking. As many as 1,000 park rangers have been killed in battles with poachers over the past decade. On the black market, slaughtering animals will always pay better than preserving them. Yet Chancellor's subjects soldier on, fighting to protect beings that cannot protect themselves. —BRYAN WALSH ■





**Preventive measures**  
A ranger removes the horn from a rhino, far left, that was killed by poachers who then fled the scene; left, a sedated black rhino awaits cataract surgery



**Survival strategies**  
Far left, a recruit learns the art of camouflage on Borana Ranch; left, monitoring a lion in the Lewa Wildlife Conservancy



HEALTH

# Feeling Deflated? The low-T industry wants to pump you up.

Men are  
showing up  
at doctors'  
offices in  
droves asking  
for scripts.  
But are the  
drugs safe?

**The promise. The science. The risk.**

By David Von Drehle

**Salesman to a T** Mike Sisk, owner of the Low T Center chain, with two staff members at a Southlake, Texas, outpost



THE SIGN OVER THE CLINIC DOOR SAYS Low T Center, as in low testosterone, as in not enough man juice in the tank. Inside, the place is musky with masculinity. The spacious suite is situated in a handsome office building in the prosperous North Texas suburb of Southlake, staffed by attractive female receptionists who welcome patients into the “man cave.” ESPN plays on the flat-screen near a bar stocked with drinks and snacks. The rooms are decorated with autographed football jerseys and other sports memorabilia. A he-man with a firm handshake named Mike Sisk is the proprietor, but he’s no doctor. Instead, Sisk is enough of a businessman to realize that America’s beer bellies could be worth their weight in gold.

Aging men by the millions are finding themselves soft where they would prefer to be firm and dull when they really need to be sharp. And although the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) doesn’t exactly approve of it, a growing number of men have come to believe that hormone therapy is the answer. Sisk is happy to oblige. With 49 clinics in 11 states—and more to come—his chain of Low T Centers serves 45,000 patients, he says, at an average price per patient of about \$400 per month.

Sisk can meet these clients’ needs because he knows how they feel. A self-

described former “gym rat,” he found himself around the age of 40 feeling run-down in the afternoon. At work and at play, he just wasn’t killing it like before. His doctor recommended Zoloft, but he worried it might cloud his thinking. He met another doctor who suggested testosterone therapy, which promises to elevate mood, melt away flab and heat things up in the bedroom. This was precisely the sort of jolt Sisk had in mind, and when a blood test indicated his T levels were drooping—which is, admittedly, a normal sign of aging—he was eager to give it a try.

Five years later, Sisk, a former FedEx sales manager, is a Midas of manliness, and his empire is worth an estimated \$100 million—a drop in the bucket of the multibillion-dollar business in hormone therapy for aging men. Fully half the patients who consult a doctor at one of Sisk’s centers for initial screenings are diagnosed with low testosterone, and thousands of other men are diagnosed by their primary-care physician, urologist or endocrinologist. U.S. prescription-testosterone sales hit \$2.4 billion in 2013, and the market is expected to swell to \$3.8 billion by 2018, according to Global Industry Analysts.

That this is happening without explicit FDA approval has the agency a bit flustered. Testosterone therapy is approved only for adult males who suffer from “medical conditions associated with a deficiency or absence of endogenous testosterone (primary or secondary hypogonadism),” in the words of agency spokesperson Andrea Fischer. A slow and gradual decline in testosterone production is normal as men age. Hypogonadism

is something different: the systemic failure of a man’s body to produce adequate testosterone to begin with. Fischer continued in a statement for *TIME*, “There are no testosterone drugs approved as a treatment for low testosterone levels, often referred to as ‘low T,’ without an associated medical condition.”

But thousands of doctors are prescribing testosterone off-label for men with borderline low or even low-normal T levels. According to an ambitious study published last year by University of Sydney researcher David Handelsman in the *Medical Journal of Australia*, the number of testosterone prescriptions written in the U.S. grew nearly tenfold from 2000 to 2011, part of a worldwide boom. At the same time, online pharmacies in Canada filled millions of additional prescriptions, many of them for Americans, the study suggested. Still more men are bypassing doctors altogether to purchase T-boosting supplements, which are not regulated by the FDA, from retailers like GNC and the Vitamin Shoppe.

Earlier this year, after several studies found indications that certain men were more prone to heart attacks and strokes while taking testosterone—and with dozens of lawsuits being filed across the country alleging harm from the drugs—the FDA announced a review of T safety.

A few months later, the agency called on testosterone manufacturers to warn patients about possible risks of blood clots in veins—a finding not directly related to the heart-attack and stroke concerns. Most recently, the agency has scheduled a meeting of experts for September to sort out red flags from red herrings in the disputed science of T therapy. The questions, however, will remain unsettled until large-scale, randomized clinical trials can provide stronger evidence.

In the meantime, the low-T bandwagon will keep collecting passengers, fueled by a 2,800% increase in marketing dollars and the fathomless fear and loathing among men starting time in the face.

#### The Search for Endless Youth

IN THE LIFE OF EVERY MAN LUCKY ENOUGH to live beyond his youth, there comes the ultimate betrayal. Not betrayal by a

**Whether injected, implanted or absorbed, testosterone promises, in the words of one pitch, ‘power, performance, passion’**



# The Lowdown On Low T

Testosterone levels normally peak in a man's 20s, then fall by 1% to 2% per year. They fluctuate from morning to afternoon and from day to day



## How Low T Is Diagnosed

These are some symptoms of testosterone deficiency—some of which are also associated with other illnesses and normal signs of aging

### BREAST DISCOMFORT

Tender or enlarged breasts could be a sign of hormone imbalance in men.

### FRAIL BONES

Bones that lose minerals become prone to fracture.

### HAIR LOSS

Shaving may become less necessary. Armpit and pubic hair may fall out or thin.

### DIMINISHED SEX DRIVE

Low T could result in depressed sexual desire and fewer spontaneous erections.

### DEPRESSION

It may also dampen energy, motivation, initiative and confidence.

### REDUCED MUSCLE MASS

Physical activity may be more challenging with diminished muscle strength.

### LOW SPERM COUNT

Men may not be able to father children. They may also experience shrinking testes.

Sources: Endocrine Society; Framingham Heart Study; Mayo Clinic; Hormone Health Network; Merck; Androgens and the Aging Male; Karstar Media; IMS Health; Global Industry Analysts; FDA  
Graphic by Emily Beattie and Leo Twetten

false friend or an inconstant lover. Such backstabbing pales beside the "inevitable hour," to borrow from the poet Thomas Gray, when the body betrays itself.

In tragic cases, it happens without warning, as when the heart of a seemingly healthy man stops beating. More typical, though, is slow-dawning treachery. Pizza and beer that once burned away quickly begin to cling to the belly. Aches and pains that used to vanish overnight linger a few days, then a few weeks, then forever. The eyes start to blur. The ears muffle. Legs lose their spring. Cells mutate and cancers activate. Most distressing for many men, one's manhood itself changes personality. Once as eager as a Labrador puppy to jump up and play, more and more it resembles an old dog that would rather nap than fetch.

Eventually the realization dawns on a fellow that something systemic is afoot. Scattered clues click into place. He comes to the grim conclusion that his body—this marvelous apparatus that he thought he knew so well—is actually out to get him. He has been marked for death. His own corpus is the assassin. And the whole op-

eration is a suicide mission. His body will kill him by killing itself.

You might say the same thing happens to women, but it's not exactly the same, judging by the demographic profile of sports-car buyers. Women handle the betrayal more matter-of-factly—a nip, a tuck, a tint, maybe, but not a Vegas condo. Perhaps their own anatomy makes them more intimate with the cycles of life, more attuned to the fact that, to quote another poet, T.S. Eliot, time the healer is also time the destroyer.

In any event, what happens next is one of the oldest of human stories. Men start searching for a loophole, a hidden door behind life's bookcase. We see this anxiety threaded through the ages. It's in the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder, who advised men of 1st century Rome that leeks and the water of boiled asparagus were good for fighting impotence and that garlic "when pounded with fresh coriander and taken in neat wine" made for an aphrodisiac. It's on the mind of the medieval friar Albertus Magnus, who counseled flaccid men to roast the penis

of a wolf, cut it into small pieces and chew a bit to reverse the effects of time.

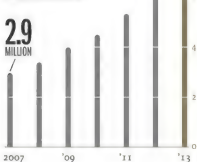
In short, the achy, the wan, the flabby and the limp have never been far from the minds of the world's scientists and hucksters. On the advice of doctors and quacks, men through the years have plunged their packages into cold baths, choked down heaping spoonfuls of wheat germ, swallowed vitamin E and stockpiled Viagra.

Meanwhile, the science of endocrinology emerged, but like all science, it was gradual. During the 1920s and '30s, chemists pinned down the role of hormones in producing the sex traits of women and men. By 1939, two scientists shared the Nobel Prize for Chemistry for their work in isolating and identifying testosterone. Proof of their findings came when the hormone passed the so-called capon test, an experiment devised by earlier researchers. Neutered chickens, known as capons, were dosed with testosterone, and in short order they developed combs and other rooster-like characteristics. The proof was in the crowing: this was a principal trigger of maleness.

## The Prescription Boom

Prescription T sales are on the rise as pharmaceutical companies boost advertising efforts

### PRESCRIPTIONS



### YEARLY U.S. SALES



### U.S. MARKETING SPENDING



## Weighing the Risks

**Sleep apnea** Testosterone may contribute to this disorder, in which breathing stops and starts during slumber.

**Blood clots** The risk of pulmonary embolism—in which blood clots lodge in the lungs—may increase.

**Stroke** The FDA is investigating the risk of stroke and heart attack in men taking testosterone.

For some scientists, it only stood to reason that the same hormone that makes a strapping man of 20—or 30 or 45—must also be a key to the unwelcome decline of aging. After all, as endocrinologists later observed, T levels drop gradually as men get older. Isn't it obvious that more T would mean less decline? This train of logic brings us to the frenzy of today: Men of the baby boom, top up your T levels and rock on! And give a nod to the ghost of Ponce de León as you reinhabit the hard and lusty body of your former self. Dude, I've got your fountain of youth right here.

### When Doctors Disagree

THE PROBLEM IS THAT TRUSTING TESTOSTERONE to relieve men of aging amounts to a massive science experiment with unknown risks. Earlier this year, a team led by California researcher William Finkle published a survey of more than 55,000 patient records in the Public Library of Science. The data indicated that certain men were more prone to heart attacks and strokes while taking testosterone—consistent with a 2013

study of more than 8,000 patients in the Veterans Affairs system published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. A 2010 study of testosterone therapy for elderly and frail men came to an early end when the risk of "adverse cardiovascular events" proved too high, according to the *New England Journal of Medicine*. Canada's health authorities, after a safety review, issued a warning in July that testosterone should not be prescribed without careful consideration, because of risks of "serious and possible life-threatening heart and blood-vessel problems, such as heart

attack, stroke, blood clots and increased or irregular heart rate."

No matter what you think of testosterone therapy, however, some scientist somewhere has data to back you up. The July 2 issue of the *Annals of Pharmacotherapy* featured a review of Medicare-patient records in which more than 6,000 testosterone users were compared with some 19,000 similar men who were not on T therapy. A team led by Jacques Baillargeon of the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston found no elevated risk of heart attack. "This is a rigorous analysis of a large number of patients," Baillargeon says. "Our findings did not show an increased risk of heart attack associated with testosterone use in older men."

There is also the question of cancer risk. Some doctors fear that testosterone could inflame undetected tumors. Testosterone is believed to accelerate the growth rate of known prostate cancers, and suppressing the hormone is a standard part of treating advanced cases of the disease. Given that prostate cancer is a leading cause of death among aging men, the worry is that boosting T levels could be like dropping matches in a dry forest. However, several small samples of cancer patients who have tried T drugs have not found an appreciable increase in risk. Again, no large-scale clinical trials have been conducted.

Foggy science has not deterred Big Pharma's rush to meet the demand. Though Low-T Center prefers to give T therapy by injection, alternatives are available: topical gels, skin patches, implants—even a nasal spray was recently given the green light by federal regulators. And among marketers, who coined the catchy "low T" term, the story is crystal clear. Whether injected, implanted, inhaled or absorbed, testosterone promises, in the words of one product pitch, "power, performance, passion."

When asked about the T-drug craze, some endocrinologists recall a similar moment not long ago. Female hormone-replacement therapy was hailed as a time-stopping cure for the effects of menopause. But the estrogen boom stalled when a large-scale, well-funded study proved that

**No matter what you think about testosterone therapy, some scientist somewhere has data to back you up**

**Calling the shots** Testosterone can be administered through topical gels, injections, nasal sprays and patches

long-term treatment raised the risk of stroke and heart attack in many women. Now estrogen supplements and related therapies are limited to more narrowly targeted uses.

Testosterone therapy shares a lot of the intellectual scaffolding that once supported hormone replacement for women. Promoters theorize that the gradual ebbing of testosterone as men age is responsible for a condition known as andropause—a kind of male menopause. Though not as abrupt or complete as menopause in women, andropause may be a reason older men lose muscle mass and libido and become more prone to weight gain around their middles—all of which, it so happens, are heralded by marketers as symptoms of low T. (Hypogonadism, it bears mentioning, tends to have far more serious symptoms, including testicles that don't descend out of the body, infertility, enlarged male breasts and a lack of body hair.)

There is so little agreement about T therapy that doctors dispute even the most basic concepts. For example: What level of T in the blood counts as low? And what's the proper way to measure levels to begin with? Is low T actually the cause of andropause symptoms? Or is it a symptom itself, caused by other factors? Advertising assures men that dwindling testosterone levels invite belly flab. But some experts argue that the reverse is true, that the flab comes first and is the cause of lower hormone levels and more exercise and a healthier diet will bring the levels up naturally.

"Have you considered other reasons why you may be experiencing fatigue, low sex drive and other symptoms?" *Harvard Men's Health Watch* recently asked. "Do you eat a balanced, nutritious diet? Do you exercise regularly? Do you sleep well? Address these factors before turning to hormone therapy."

#### T Drugs in Action

FURTHER CONFOUNDING THE SUBJECT is the role played by mankind's most cherished organ. No, not that one—the brain. The catalog of complaints triggering T therapy is well known to be a tangle of

both physical and mental factors. Take the case of Chuck Carroll, 51, a patient at the Southlake Low T Center. A two-time All-America runner in his younger years, Carroll began to worry around his 50th birthday that he was losing a step. His travels as a packaging designer grew wearisome. He started craving an afternoon nap. There were also "serious problems with the better half," he tells *TIME*.

A friend tipped Carroll to testosterone, and since beginning the regimen at Sisk's clinic, he is enjoying his workouts again and has dropped nearly 20 lb. (9 kg). "I don't feel so worn out, and my wife is happy too," he says. When his grown kids drop by and ask where Dad is, "Dad isn't on the couch."

Carroll might be describing any one of a million low-T patients. A man in his 50s or 60s or 70s finds himself feeling sluggish and low. He's eating or drinking too much, and his body doesn't burn calories as fast as it used to. Next thing he knows, he's overweight. The combination of mood and weight makes it difficult to stir up the energy for exercise, while lack of exercise only worsens his other problems. This dismal cycle wreaks havoc on his libido too.

Testosterone represents new hope and a fresh start. For the first time in years, he expects to feel happier and more energetic. After all, marketers are spending millions to raise those expectations. Believing that he will feel better, he does. He starts exercising and watching what he consumes. The dismal cycle reverses. Soon all sorts of systems, from head to heart to groin, begin operating at a higher level.

**What works for one man may not work for others. A treatment that is benign when used briefly may become toxic with long use**

Is it the hormones, or is this a classic placebo effect? Does the simple expectation of better moods and more energy produce the behaviors that make the expectation come true? Stuart Seidman and Steven Roose, psychiatrists on the faculty of Columbia University Medical Center, have extensively studied sexual dysfunction in depressed older men. When testosterone therapy began to catch fire a decade ago, they were intrigued by this placebo question and devised experiments to test whether injectable T was any better than fake injections at elevating moods and stimulating erections.

In a randomized, double-blind test of 30 men, they gave T shots to some of the subjects and harmless sesame-oil injections to the others. All the test subjects were experiencing depression and erectile dysfunction. Many of them reported improvements in their mood and function after treatment. But the doctors found no statistically significant difference in the progress of the T takers over the placebo group. Whether real or fake, the injections had the same effect on the patients.

Which is not to say testosterone is all in the mind. High doses of male hormones produce physical and emotional changes. Just look at the lads at your local high school, who sprout from wisps to hulks in a matter of months. At puberty, a rush of testosterone courses through an unsuspecting boy, signaling that the time has come to sprout his beard, swell his muscles, lower his voice and fire his loins. The body responds with a total transformation.

"Testosterone is not a silver bullet," Sisk says. "Testosterone makes a guy feel better. He starts working out a little more, drops a couple of pounds. But if you're going to sit home and drink beer and eat pretzels, this is not gonna help you."

But given the unknowns of testosterone therapy, should aging men by the millions be juicing themselves with substances powerful enough to keep Barry Bonds and Roger Clemens out of the Hall of Fame? Not to mention the risk to people close to them: men who apply the gel should be careful not to let it come into contact with others. In pregnant women, T-gel exposure can



cause birth defects, and in all women it can cause abnormal hair growth and acne. In kids, it can cause enlarged genitals and, in boys, increased erections.

### The Murky Path Forward

THE FDA'S ROLE IN TESTOSTERONE THERAPY began as evidence suggested that hormone supplements would help address hypogonadism in otherwise healthy young men. But from there, the picture has grown more complicated, even as mass marketing has oversimplified the low-T message. The human gizmo starts to run down, so we slap in new batteries, but what that alluring promise misses is the exquisite complexity of human life. The natural decline in testosterone in older men doesn't happen in a vacuum. It's part of a delicate endocrine system governed by interactions of the brain with various glands—the

hypothalamic-pituitary-gonadal system. It's impossible to tease out the effects of a single ingredient from the cocktail.

Furthermore, the changes that men experience as they age are not simply expressions of hormone levels. Genes play a potent role, as do psychology and environment. Because there is no single cause of depression, there is no single cure. Likewise, weight gain happens for all sorts of reasons, and each one demands a different solution. Sexual desire is such an individual and fugitive fancy that it makes a better subject for artists than scientists, and erectile dysfunction (ED) can be an expression of boredom, chronic or acute illness, reduced blood flow, anxiety—the list goes on.

It's no wonder the FDA decided to gather the experts for a T summit. But any attempt by scientists to isolate the effect of testosterone will likely be foiled by the complexity

of the human machine. What works for one man may not work in others. A treatment that is benign when used briefly might become toxic with long use. We have more guesses and theories than we have answers or knowledge. We are closer to Pliny and Albertus than we like to admit.

Perhaps T therapy will prove as flawed as blanket hormone-replacement therapy has been for women, or maybe it will follow the path of another wonder cure: the little blue pill. When Viagra hit the market in 1998, it was hailed as the fix for ED. A second sexual revolution was declared, this one throwing off the chains of age. Within a decade, annual Viagra sales were approaching \$2 billion, even as a raft of similar medications entered the marketplace.

Then an odd thing began to happen. Doctors noticed that large numbers of their patients weren't refilling their prescriptions. Sales of Viagra, Cialis, Levitra and other ED drugs leveled off, then began to fall. Abraham Morgentaler, a urologist on the faculty at Harvard Medical School, explored this reality in the book *The Viagra Myth*. "As I listened to my patients, I came to see that our culture had taken Viagra and created a legend out of it that went far beyond its actual pharmacological properties," he wrote. "People had come to expect that taking a little blue pill could solve their personal and relationship problems, no matter how complex those difficulties were."

Mike Sisk has a somewhat different explanation for why men search for a magic pill or potion. He thinks about it now and then, when he's not busy working on the charity that he and his wife are setting up or the \$16 million gift he has pledged to the University of Tennessee athletic department or the possibility of taking his company public in 18 months or so. Andrew Marvell, yet another poet, got close to the gist when he wrote, "Though we cannot make our sun stand still, yet we will make him run."

Sisk puts it this way: "Our dad's generation went quietly into the night." Smiling broadly, he continues, "My generation is not going quietly."

—WITH REPORTING BY HILARY HYLTON  
IN SOUTHLAKE





To see a video about  
Girls Who Code, go to  
[time.com/girlswhocode](http://time.com/girlswhocode)

#### SOLUTIONS FOR AMERICA

# CRACKING THE GIRL CODE

TECH GIANTS BET ON SUMMER  
CAMPS TO CLOSE THEIR GENDER GAP  
BY ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

TWENTY HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS SIT HUNCHED IN FRONT OF laptops around a polished wooden table at AT&T's midtown office in New York City. Riya Satara, 17, types a series of ones and zeros to adjust a paddleball game she's designing so that the ball follows the right trajectory. It's only her first week learning to code—writing the instructions that tell a computer what to do—but by the end of a seven-week summer stint with Girls Who Code, a national nonprofit that seeks to close the gender gap in the tech industry, Satara and her campmates will be designing algorithms that do everything from locate public restrooms to detect false positives in breast-cancer testing.

This camp is just one of a half-dozen similar programs around the country—many of which are supported by tech giants like Google, Facebook and AT&T—that offer coding classes developed specifically for girls like Satara who have shied away from the subject. "I'm about to be the president of my school," says Satara, who hopes to become a neurosurgeon. "I can stand on a stage in front of 700 kids, but I was too scared to take a computer-science class where I would have been the only girl in a room of 19 guys."

Photograph by Dina Litovsky for TIME



Changing that kind of mind-set is a national strategic challenge. By 2020, U.S. universities will not be able to fill even a third of the country's 1.4 million computing positions with qualified graduates. The industry needs to tap the other 50% of the population if it hopes to find candidates for crucial jobs. At present, only 12% of computer-science degrees go to women. "Our motto," says Reshma Saujani, who founded Girls Who Code, "is infiltrate, infiltrate, infiltrate."

Since it launched in 2012, Saujani's program has gone from 20 girls in one classroom to graduating 3,000 girls from clubs and camps across the country. Saujani says 95% of graduates want to major in computer science in college.

These future female developers are valuable to tech companies in ways beyond simply filling open spots. Most Internet purchases are made by women, and understanding their instincts is a key to business success. "We're falling behind the rest of the world if we don't teach our girls how to code," says Megan Smith, VP of Google X, a semisecret facility at Google in California working on advanced technology. In June, after revealing that only 17% of its engineers were women, Google launched a site called Made With Code that features free programming projects for girls. The company pledged \$50 million to programs like Girls Who Code.

Money is only part of the answer. Educators are trying to understand how to engage girls in computer science early and why so few of them stick with it—even though they outpace boys in most other subjects. "If a woman is taking an engi-

## WHERE TO LEARN

These three programs provide year-round coding classes for girls. Find more at [Code.org](http://Code.org)

### 1. Technovation

Girls from 19 countries have participated in Technovation's three-month class and app-building competition

### 2. Black Girls Code

These national workshops for girls 7 and older aim to increase the number of women of color in tech

### 3. Girls Who Code

95% of the 3,000 graduates of this program say they want to go on to major in computer science

neering course, she's likely to drop out if her grade goes below a B-plus," says Ashley Gavin, who creates the curriculum for Girls Who Code. "A guy won't drop out unless his grade goes below a B-minus."

That dynamic explains why some academics have made it their mission to change the tone of introductory computer-science classes so that young women don't drop out. "At many institutions they are weed-out courses," says Maria Klawe, president of Harvey Mudd College in Claremont, Calif. "Professors should be saying, 'We're thrilled to have you here and know you can succeed.'" Klawe has boosted the percentage of women graduating with computer-science majors at her college from 10% to about 40% in seven years.

Klawe implemented some of the strategies that Girls Who Code now emulates: both programs emphasize problem-

**Geek power** Members of Girls Who Code, ages 16 to 18, program together at AppNexus, an online-advertising company in New York City

solving real-world issues because girls tend to want to help their communities. The programs also assign group projects because research shows that girls flourish when they collaborate with others. Many high school programs have also opted for a single-sex approach to help girls build a network they can lean on as they enter a male-dominated workforce. But with so few high-profile female programmers as role models, many girls still have a hard time envisioning themselves in the field.

That's why Google is touting female coders. At the June launch of Made With Code in New York City, alumni from Girls Who Code and Black Girls Code cheered on women like Miral Kotb, founder of iLuminate—a Broadway dance troupe that uses coding to choreograph the lights on their costumes—and Pixar's Danielle Feinberg, who used code to animate *Brave*.

But gender parity won't likely be reached until coding is better integrated into the classroom: currently 9 out of 10 schools in the U.S. don't offer computer science. Code.org, a nonprofit backed by Mark Zuckerberg, Bill Gates and Google, aims to change that by mimicking China, Vietnam and the U.K., where coding classes are offered as early as elementary school and the gender gap is negligible.

Some developers aren't waiting for U.S. schools to catch up. Consider Hopscotch, an app that teaches children as young as 8 how to build their own games with code. Hopscotch CEO Jocelyn Leavitt says her male friends taught themselves programming when they were kids by playing sports- or war-themed video games and then re-creating them. "We wanted to tap into that desire to create something but make it more accessible to both boys and girls," she says. So far it's a hit: more than 1.5 million projects have been coded with Hopscotch in the past year, about half by girls.

Riya Satara says if she'd learned coding earlier, she wouldn't have thought it was just for boys. Now she wants to spread the tech gospel by starting a Girls Who Code club at her school. And she's finally enrolling in a computer-science class.

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THE WEEK  
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# The Culture



## MOVIES

### A Very Big Bang

Director James Marsh's upcoming biopic about the personal life of Stephen Hawking, ***The Theory of Everything***, offers an intimate look at the renowned theoretical physicist. In this exclusive photo of Eddie Redmayne as the young scientist, Hawking courts his first wife Jane Wilde (Felicity Jones) before being diagnosed with the rare motor neuron disease

A 1965 wedding photo, below, of the real Hawking and Wilde



that left him mostly paralyzed. The film, in theaters Nov. 7, is already generating Oscar buzz thanks to a remarkable performance by Redmayne, whose transformation into the older Hawking was the result of months of vocal coaching and work with ALS patients. "He's unable to move the vast majority of his muscles, but he smiles, and there's a spark in his eye," Redmayne says of Hawking, with whom he spent time before filming. "There's something so pucky about him." —SAM LANSKY

## MUSIC

### Hot Sheet

In 2012, Beck released an "album" of songs on sheet music. For ***Song Reader***, out now, he recruited Jack White, Juanes, Norah Jones and others to cover and record the songs.



## BOOKS

### Never Be Royals

An Austrian empress, unfulfilled by her dull marriage and the confines of the crown, meets a handsome (but taken) equestrian in Daisy Goodwin's novel ***The Fortune Hunter***, out now.



## MOVIES

### Shell-Shocked

As the headstrong reporter April O'Neil, Megan Fox (right) teams up with some familiar reptilian heroes to save New York City in the Michael Bay-produced ***Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles***, out Aug. 8.





#### The Culture

# What's My Type?

## A new kind of online dating tries to match people by what they do, not just what they say

By Belinda Luscombe

Turns out I don't love firefighters. I thought I did. They were always my emergency responders of choice. If anything really bad were going to happen to me, I secretly hoped it would be a fire rather than, say, a cerebral hemorrhage or an attack by a knife-wielding madman, so that strapping firefighters would come to my aid rather than paramedics or cops. But according to the online dating service Zoosk, I've been deluding myself for years.

Earlier this year I decided to take Zoosk for a spin for a few weeks to see what I could learn about the mechanics of attraction. I chose Zoosk because it stakes its reputation on behavioral matchmaking, the newest flavor of digital dating. The biggest sites—like Match, eHarmony and OkCupid—direct people to each other mostly on the basis of personality profiles and questionnaires about their preferences in a mate. Zoosk asks fewer questions and relies more on users' actions to bring them together.

Much as Netflix recommends movies you might want to watch based on films you've already sat through, Zoosk says



it can figure out what you like in a person by analyzing your behavior on the site. Whose profile do you look at longest? What do the folks you respond to have in common? Sociologists and market-research professionals have long known that what people say they want to do and what they actually do are two very different things. As David Evans, a consultant to online dating businesses, puts it, "Why do you say you want a 6-ft. 2-in. lacrosse player and keep checking out the profiles of short Asian dudes?"

Ordinarily, people who use Zoosk are shown potential dates but not given any reason why the service thinks these people are right for them. The plan in my case was to spend a few weeks on the site and then get its techies to let me in on the results. They would tell me what I liked in guys and not just what I thought I liked. Full confession: I am not actually in the market for a new partner. That is, not on most days. I'm married. To make my project a little more interesting, I signed my husband up on the site as well, to see if we could find our way to each

other. Of course, I asked his permission before doing so. Or at least, not long after.

After several weeks of research and immersion in Zoosk, I made an important discovery: I need to be much nicer to my husband. I can't go back out there. Dating on Zoosk felt like shopping for a wedding dress in a thrift store—there's not a lot of choice, and what there is seems kind of random.

To be fair, my experiment was hampered by some methodology flaws. The first was that there was no way I was putting a real photo of myself on the site. The photo-agency image I initially selected as most like me depicted, the caption said, "a woman with a headache." So I went instead with a picture of a normal-looking older lady, who, my son later observed, was better-looking than I am. The second flaw was the fact that I have always been terrible at any sort of dating, and I suspect that years of practicing journalism may have made me worse. I opened one online chat by asking a guy why his skin was such a strange color. I was extremely suspicious with a guy who was 56 and

never married. And I had to refrain from pestering a man for hard numbers when he said he wanted a woman who was "sexually insatiable."

But I did my best to mingle and engage. "The whole beauty of behavioral matchmaking is that we don't need that much interaction to find the biggest nuggets about the person," says Zoosk's co-founder and president, Alex Mehr. "About 80% of someone's preference comes out in the first few interactions." And Zoosk, as with most dating websites, offers up myriad ways to talk to strangers. There's a carousel of guys, a process of winking and sending digital gifts, a messaging service and a search function. And there's a thing called SmartPick. You get one guy a day who has been carefully selected for you based on your prior activity. It was not, as I was hoping, that you get a really bright guy.

Essentially since the dawn of the Internet-dating era, we've been engaged in a massive longitudinal study of mate selection. To conduct the experiment, we've opened the partnering floodgates. Finding a consort has gone from choosing a

## Dater Data. How other websites are using behavioral matchmaking

match.com

Notes when users contact people who don't fit their stated preferences and adjusts for which preferences seem least crucial

eHarmony

Uses algorithms like those that send ads to people based on past behavior; extrapolates from similar users' behavior

okcupid

Users rate the daily matches, which the site says helps improve the matchmaking accuracy of its algorithm

howaboutwe.com

Makes matches based on users' liking the same activities and recognizes patterns among those to whom users send messages

between maybe two options presented by your family to finding a suitable person in your neighborhood and social circle to cherry-picking from among the scores of contenders you meet at school or college or work to scrolling through thousands of faces on a phone. In terms of choice, that's like going from eating whatever Mom is serving for dinner to carrying a plate around an all-you-can-eat buffet stocked by every restaurant in the world while people dump food onto it.

Using Big Data and predictive modeling, dating websites hope to act as filters, funneling people to the most promising candidates. The rewards for a better matchmaking model are high: about 10% of all Americans and 20% of 18-to-35-year-olds have tried online dating, according to Pew Research. The activity has lost much of the stigma it attracted since Pew's last study on it, just eight years ago. For young urban people, it's almost mandatory, and nearly 40% of all people who'd like to find love are looking for it online. This is partly why Zoosk has filed for an IPO.

But the promise has not panned out. Pew found that only 11% of couples in a committed relationship formed in the past 10 years met their partner online. Fewer than a quarter of all online daters have scored a long-term relationship or marriage as a result, and a depressing 34% have never been on an actual date, in which people's bodies are in the same room, as a result of their web browsing.

So are there ways we might improve the outcomes in the online dating game? Does analyzing my interactions help a service get a truer picture of me and my preferences than the one I provide in a questionnaire? "The jury is still out on behavioral matchmaking," says Paul Oyer, a labor economist at Stanford University and the author of *Everything I Ever Needed*

*to Know About Economics I Learned From Online Dating*. "The biggest impediment in all online dating is the dishonesty." In this case, he doesn't just mean the inaccurate picture given by misleading answers to a questionnaire but also the unreliable data that users offer up: the inflated job descriptions, the 10-year-old photographs. (Even my photo was false, remember.) Either the computer introduces the wrong people because it has been lied to, or people are attracted to a poor match because they're being lied to. The duplicity cuts both ways: OkCupid recently admitted that in hopes of improving its algorithm it misled some users about their compatibility with one another.

All the same, the behavioral approach, which is practiced to some degree by all the big dating websites except slot-machine services like Tinder, might still help you achieve some insight into your real desires. Even before the techies crunched my numbers, I noticed some things I hadn't realized about my mating habits. I liked men with no hair (especially if my other option was bad hair), I liked outdoorsy guys, and I tended to discount guys who used the word *LOL* more than, say, seven times in any one personal essay. I was shocked by how many guys thought the most lady-worthy photos were of their motorbike, boat or recently caught fish or showed themselves frowning into their camera phone while sitting in their car at a stoplight. Also, if someone were to base a whole dating website on my deal breaker, it would be called *EwNoMuscleShirtPlz.com*.

When my husband's photo came up on my search, I chose the option to like it, stared at him for a while in profound gratitude, read his profile and moved on. But in 13 weeks he never came up as a SmartPick, nor in my carousel, possibly

because he wasn't a paying customer. (According to Zoosk, we were about a 60% match.) And he didn't get that many requests to chat either. That might have been because I posted a photo of him wearing a wedding ring. He got an alert that I wanted to chat but says he wouldn't have clicked on that photo.

When Zoosk president Mehr explained my online selections to me several weeks later, he told me, in a nice way, that I was a horrible elitist: my most consistent mating practice was to choose guys who had at least one college degree. "Education was the strongest factor," he said, "then attractiveness, then age." Much of this was not a big revelation, since in a short questionnaire I had said I liked educated guys and preferred to date a nonsmoker with kids. My behavior held true to those patterns. One surprising nugget: I preferred guys who were 10 years older (my husband is a year younger) and mildly favored guys who listened to Top 40 (the stuff my husband hates most, after jazz and my Carol Channing impression).

I never imagined myself with an older guy. But I realized that I never responded to guys who were younger than me, even if they were attractive and college-educated. And it wasn't because I don't like younger guys. It was because I was certain they wouldn't be into me. I was afraid of being spurned, even from guys who never had a hope in the first place. Fear of rejection may also explain why I've had the same job for so long, have changed cities only once and rarely call my mother.

Come to think of it, it might even explain the firefighter thing. A firefighter is the one type of guy who, no matter how bad the situation is, is still going to come and get you. Hopefully not in a muscle shirt. ■

# Reviews



MOVIES

## A Bratty *Star Wars*. No marvels in this *Guardians of the Galaxy*

By Richard Corliss

IF THE MARVEL COMICS GUYS HELD A GARAGE SALE OF THEIR least valuable subheroes and you bought five, you might have accidentally assembled the *Guardians of the Galaxy* team. The quintet's mythology fills only half a page of the 400-page *Marvel Encyclopedia*, and cries for immortalizing it on film have been muted. But the company's movie crew must be fed, so here's the fourth Marvel movie in four months. It's a bit of a botch.

Think *Star Wars* but way brattier. The leader is Peter Quill (Chris Pratt of *Parks and Recreation*), an earthling of the Han Solo-Indy stripe who calls himself "Starlord, Legendary Outlaw" but commands little fear or respect. So he hooks up with the green Gamora (*Avatar*'s Zoe Saldana), the muscle-bound, madly tattooed Drax (ex-WWE champ Dave Bautista), the snarky raccoon Rocket (voiced by Bradley Cooper) and a tree-being named Groot (grunted by Vin Diesel). They hurt villains, battle the Taliban-ish zealot Ronan (Lee Pace) and eventually bond into a group tight enough to warrant a sequel that is promised, or threatened, at film's end.

*Guardians'* MacGuffin is an orb with what Peter calls "an Ark of the Covenant, Maltese Falcon kind of vibe." That reference keys the central strategy of director-co-writer James Gunn: to filch from a trove of movies and music, mostly of '70s and '80s vintage, while acknowledging the theft. He's like a burglar who takes all your stuff and leaves a Post-it detailing where each stolen item used to be.

A jaunty take on *Star Wars*? That's about 30 years too late. And if Gunn intends a fondly mocking deconstruction of the more serious Marvel movies, he's just being redundant. The *Iron Man* and *Captain America* films are well aware of their outlandish elements; their heroes love to make deprecating jokes about themselves.

After one episode, *Guardians* has yet to locate a rooting interest or consistent tone. At the end, Peter asks his teammates, "What'll we do now? Something bad? Something good? Bit of both?" He might be begging the audience—anyone—for an answer.

## TELEVISION That Old-Time Medicine

Steven Soderbergh's *The Knick* (Cinemax, Fridays) is about the future; it just happens to take place in 1900. The medical drama, created by Jack Amiel and Michael Begler, captures turn-of-that-century Manhattan in all its typhoid-infected squalor. But its characters are on the cusp of dizzying change.

The halls of Knickerbocker Hospital hum with newly wired electricity. Dr. John Thackery (Clive Owen, pictured below), the brilliant and bristly head of surgery, explores experimental treatments, fueled by ambition and surreptitious injections of cocaine. Immigration is reshaping the city, and the Knick hires African American Dr. Alger-

non Edwards (André Holland), who finds Thackery not nearly as progressive racially as he is medically. Director Soderbergh, who quit feature films last year, gives *The Knick* a jittery immediacy that rejects sepiatone drama clichés, assisted by Cliff Martinez's haunting electronic score. It feels like *Deadwood Hospital*—brutal, thoughtful and, with its gore-soaked surgery, not for the squeamish. It's bloody, and bloody fascinating.

—JAMES PONIEWOZIK



Spoon's first album in four years, *They Want My Soul*, drops Aug. 5 on Loma Vista

MUSIC

## Big Spoon. The alt-rock quintet gets its swagger up

By Jamieson Cox

SPoon BECAME ONE OF THE GREAT-est American rock bands of its generation by laying a foundation of key musical elements—tight rhythms and nervy riffs, Britt Daniel's scratchy SOS-pad yelp, lyrics that danced on the edge of inscrutability—and building new worlds out of that core with each new record. The band played with tones and instrumentation that veered from minimalism and rawness (*Kill the Moonlight*, *Transference*) to intricacy, breadth and diversity (*Gimme Fiction*, *Ga Ga Ga Ga Ga*).

*They Want My Soul*, the band's eighth studio album, seeks to answer a question: What should rock music sound like in 2014? The answer, to hear the band and veteran producers Joe Chiccarelli and Dave Fridmann tell it: bright, brittle guitar lines, can-opener percussion and an array of untraditional sounds and effects that serve as spice and garnish. Vocals are processed and made to artificially stutter (like on standout "Do You"), and synth melodies are afforded a prominence that would have scanned as garish on earlier records.

Daniel remains the star, and his tattered snarl makes these songs move. When he turns relatively tender for the swooning, dewy "Inside Out," it's a rare treat. Whether he is attempting a gentle croon or strutting and spitting, his voice stands out, as does the sharp strength of Spoon's ensemble. Genres and trends shift with time, but craftsmanship like this never goes out of style.

# Books

## Cold Comfort. A forgotten tragedy of American Arctic exploration

By Lev Grossman

ON JULY 8, 1879, AT 4 O'CLOCK IN THE afternoon, a refitted Royal Navy gunboat called the U.S.S. *Jeannette* left San Francisco headed for the North Pole. The expedition was sponsored by the newspaper magnate James Gordon Bennett, who'd had some luck with this kind of thing before: he's the one who sent Stanley to Africa to find Livingstone. The *Jeannette* was heated and insulated. Its hull was reinforced with trusses and beams to withstand the pressure of Arctic pack ice. It carried a set of arc lights supplied by Thomas Edison; its telephones and telegraph were from Alexander Graham Bell. Its hold was stuffed with provisions for three years. It never came back.

To an aficionado of the genre, narratives of early Arctic exploration unfold with a certain formal inevitability, in stately, familiar, unvarying stages. The fitting and provisioning of the stout vessel, the gala departure, the fruitless exploration of blind bays and dead islands, the fading hopes, the trapping of the ship in pack ice, the fatal nightmare of cold and starvation.

Finally, as an epilogue, a new expedition sets out in search of the first, and the cycle starts again.

The predictability of it all in no way detracts from the fascination. If anything, it enhances the awful fatedness that haunts these stories. Hampton Sides isn't a scholar of the Arctic; he writes narrative histories—his last book was *Hellhound on His Trail*, about the hunt for the assassin of Martin Luther King Jr. But he brings vividness to *In the Kingdom of Ice*, and in the tragedy of the *Jeannette* he's found a story that epitomizes both the heroism and the ghastly expense of life that characterized the entire Arctic enterprise.

The captain of the *Jeannette* was a successful former naval officer named George Washington De Long. Ironically, De Long's introduction to the Arctic came on a search for yet another lost vessel, the *Polaris*, which disappeared off Greenland in 1872. (The *Polaris* was never found, but seven months later, 19 survivors were discovered adrift on an ice floe.) The experience left De Long with an Arctic obsession; he was fascinated "by its lonely grandeur, by its mirages and strange tricks of light, its mock moons and blood-red halos, its thick misty atmospheres that altered and magnified sounds."

Granted, the Arctic was a lot more seductive back when no one knew what was up there. At the time, scientists theorized that the North Pole was covered by a body of warm, ice-free water they called the Open Polar Sea, accessible by a

*The Jeannette trapped in ice*  
An 1883 painting  
based on  
drawings  
in De Long's diary



"thermometric gateway," a soft spot in the ring of ice that surrounded it. Nobody had found the gateway yet, but God help him, De Long was going to try.

By September the *Jeannette* had been frozen into the ice pack—"nipped," in the parlance—but that was part of the plan. The plan was also for the ice pack to let them out the following summer, but it didn't. The crew of 33 spent all of 1880 stuck there. They had a feast on Christmas and a variety show on New Year's Day, but the boredom must have been acute. "He is recorded to have had many trials and tribulations," De Long wrote in his journal. "But so far as is known, job was never caught in pack ice."

It's not boring to read about all this. Ice squeezed the ship so hard that beads of tar and pine sap oozed from its boards. "Geyers of surf hissed through cracks in the ice," Sides writes. With an eye for the telling detail, he sketches the crew members as individuals, including the ship's engineer, an indefatigable man named Melville, and ordinary seaman William Nindemann, who displayed almost supernatural strength and imperviousness to cold—he was one of the 19 who survived the wreck of the *Polaris*.

The bare facts of what happened to the

**Icebound** The journey of the *Jeannette*



*Jeannette*'s crew are easily Googleable, but if you don't already know the story, *In the Kingdom of Ice* reads like a first-class epic thriller. De Long and his companions became explorers of not only unknown geographical territory but also extremes of

suffering and despair. In his stoic endurance of disappointment and pain, De Long rivals Louis Zamperini, the hero of Laura Hillenbrand's *Unbroken*. What must have made it harder was that it was a waste and they knew it: De Long realized early on that there was no Open Polar Sea, no thermometric gateway, just an expanse of dead ice. It was Nindemann, the heroic ordinary seaman, who put it best. "I believe in nature," he said. "I don't believe in the hereafter. This world is where we get all our punishment." ■

## De Long and his crew explored extremes of suffering and despair rarely visited by human beings

MAP: ILLUSTRATION BY SCRIPT & SEAL FOR FINE; MANDORING THE JEANNETTE, 1882; JAMES S. TYLER—COURTESY DOUBLEDAY BOOKS

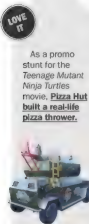


# Pop Chart

DIGITS

 **\$75 MILLION**

Amount Robert Downey Jr., a.k.a. Iron Man in Marvel's blockbuster franchise, earned from June 2013 to June 2014, making him the world's highest-paid actor for the second year in a row, per *Forbes*. No. 2: Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson, with \$52 million.



As a promo stunt for the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles movie, **Pizza Hut** built a real-life pizza thrower.

This summer the University of Virginia offered a **Game of Thrones** class on both the book and the show to explore themes "through the skills of literary analysis," according to its professor.



LeBron James sent apology cupcakes to his neighbors in Ohio after media and fans caused chaos during speculation about his return to the Cavaliers.

Video of Rachel Dratch and Tina Fey's pre-SNL sketch show, "**Dratch & Fey**," has finally surfaced online—and it's just as wacky as you'd expect.



**BRICK BY BRICK** We already have official state birds, quarters and songs—so why not official Lego dioramas? That's what photographer Jeff Friesen has created (unofficially) for his book *United States of LEGO*, out Sept. 2. Of course, his vision for each state's signature scene may not match what you learned in school. Case in point: New Mexico's cowboy-alien mashup, above.

VERBATIM

'Hip-hop is a contagious culture.'

**QUESTLOVE**, defending Australian rapper Iggy Azalea, who has caught flak for inauthenticity (she raps using a Southern-like drawl), he called her summer hit "Fancy" a "game changer"

QUICK TALK

## Mark-Paul Gosselaar

High school students can't practice law—so it's a good thing that the actor once known as Zack Morris on *Saved by the Bell* is a grownup now. The 40-year-old's courtroom buddy-comedy *Franklin & Bash* returns to TNT on Aug. 13. Here, he talks to TIME. —LILY ROTHMAN

**There's an upcoming episode called "Good Cop/Bad Cop." Which are you more likely to be?** There are

parts of me that would be a bad cop and parts of me that would be a good cop—which, by the way, is why I'm not a cop. I think I answered that question poorly if I ever want to become a public figure.

**I don't know. You did a good job of equivocating.** But as a public figure, you never say, 'Well, I could be bad.' You say, 'I would never!' **O.K., so no running for office. What about being a real lawyer?** I actually toyed with it briefly. **Being a lawyer?** Yeah, the creator of *Raising the Bar* [another legal show that starred Gosselaar] worked at Seton Hall University, and he said, 'Look, we can do this.'

**I don't think I could do the James Franco of it all and say, 'Eh, f-ck it, I'm going to school,' and make it work between my films and TV.** But it would be cool to walk into a courtroom and surprise people. Or even if I just did my own contracts. I could save money that way. **This is a great plan.** All to save that extra 5% or 10%. I'm doing it! **I have to ask you about *Saved by the Bell* before you go.** Yes. **The 25th anniversary of the first episode is coming up this summer ...** Oh, my God. Why "Oh, my God"? That's a long time. **Does it feel like 25 years have passed?** I don't remember that time, so I guess yes. We did over 100 episodes. There are certain stretches I remember—not the episodes themselves but the fun that we had.

**ON MY RADAR**

► *Lone Survivor* on DVD

"It was a great movie but really horrible to watch what these guys went through."

► Music-finding app Shazam

"I'm always Shazam-ing things."





**FLOWER POWER** To capture this otherworldly image—part of a project called Exobotanica—artist Makoto Azuma launched cameras and a floral arrangement into the atmosphere from Nevada's Black Rock Desert on July 15. (Azuma also launched a bonsai tree, not pictured.) The helium-hoisted device got 87,000 ft. into the air before falling, but the flowers were never recovered.

# ROUNDUP

## Celebrity Hidden Talents

The Internet recently exploded after Chris Pratt—prompted by his interviewer—started perfectly French-braiding an intern's hair during an *Entertainment Tonight* segment. But the *Guardians of the Galaxy* star isn't the only actor with an unexpected skill set.

### LESLIE MANN

The entertainer taught herself to **unicycle** when she was 10 years old; after decades of practice, she mastered tricks like cycling backward and jumping curbs.



### PIERCE BROSNAN

Before he was 007, the actor studied circus arts at theater school, where he **learned how to breathe fire**.



### GEENA DAVIS

We might associate the *League of Their Own* star with baseball, but she's also a **master archer** who made the 1999 U.S. Olympic team semifinals.



### DAVID ARQUETTE

The actor **learned to knit** from his grandmother and even appeared on the cover of the book *Celebrity Scarves 2: Hollywood Knits for Breast Cancer Research*.



### CHRISTINA HENDRICKS

The actress showed off her real-life **accordion skills** during an episode of AMC's *Mad Men*. "I always loved that instrument," she has said.



Blake Lively, founder of newly minted **lifestyle site Preserve**, admits she's "no editor, no artisan, no expert."

Orlando Bloom reportedly **tried to punch Justin Bieber** at a restaurant in Ibiza, Spain—in the presence of Lindsay Lohan and Paris Hilton, no less.

The web app **I Know Where Your Cat Lives** uses metadata from Instagram to pinpoint where cat pics were taken.



Bye, bye, bye: Sony's Legacy Recordings put out an **'N Sync compilation album** reportedly without telling the band.

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## Double Dipping for America

Wherein I come to understand the odd, altruistic logic of political donors



I CONSIDER BILLIONAIRES who fund candidates and super PACs to be great patriots since they're using their money altruistically to try to improve our country, if only by preventing every TV ad from being one for Verizon. But I got nervous about money's corruption of our political system when I noticed that several people in local L.A. elections had given equally to both candidates. When people are giving money that cancels itself out just to be assured they're on the winning side, that's when it stops being democracy and starts being venture capital.

**Using public records, I built an algorithm** that created a spreadsheet showing that about 160 Americans donated to candidates for the Senate or the House who are running against each other from different parties this November. When I say *I*, I mean Pratheek Rebala, a really smart intern in TIME's Washington news bureau, and when I say *spreadsheet* I mean a list of numbers that may or may not actually be a spreadsheet, and when I say *algorithm*, I have no idea what I mean whatsoever. I am relatively confident about all the other words I am using.

I picked eight of the most interesting double donors, scoured the web for contact information and sent them emails asking them to explain their motives. None responded. This is where a lazy, uncreative reporter would just give up. When Washington bureau chief Michael Scherer discovered that I had given up, however, he got two interns to actually call everyone on the list. Tessa Berenson and Becca Stanek may not have learned a lot about journalism from this assignment, but if they ever need telemarketing jobs, they are going to be well prepared.

Tessa and Becca got two double donors to speak on the record, which proves both that people are indeed hiding something and also that you should not apply for an internship at TIME.

David Austin, a Texas lobbyist with clients such as the county of El Paso and the World Wildlife Fund, gave \$500 to both Republican Senator John Cornyn and Democrat Maxey Scherr, who later lost her primary. He figures the money may have been the price of admission to fundraising parties, which he goes to a lot of to talk to lawmakers about how nice El Paso and pandas are, neither of which is true.

"I try to put my personal politics aside and decide if this is somebody who is going to be in a position to help us with our issues," says Austin, a Democrat. He didn't think Scherr would win, but she's a friend and he wanted to let her know he believed in her. I would have thought that candidates would get angry when they found out you also donated to their opponent, but apparently they just are excited about money. Money in politics is less like giving a diamond ring and more

like texting a little thumbs-up emoticon.

Some people explained, off the record, that they gave to both candidates because they're friends with both of them, which seemed suspicious since recent polls show that approximately 60% of Democrats and Republicans are friends. Even more unbelievable, California lobbyist Jerry Haleva gave to Sacramento County's new Democratic Representative Ami Bera and his Republican challenger Doug Ose—even though he's on Ose's finance committee. This is like playing for the Yankees and giving a couple of runs to whatever team is playing the Yankees, which I believe sometimes happens around the trade deadline.

But Haleva says he double-donated because he likes both candidates' pro-Israel policies. "I just wanted to show Bera that I supported and appreciated what he was doing in foreign policy," he explained. In essence, Haleva is giving money to an issue, not a candidate. I hadn't seen money used as such a complex communication tool since Flo Rida gave me a stack of \$1 bills to make it rain at the Diamonds Cabaret strip club in Miami, where I used some to say "Boobs!" and others to say "Butts!"

**Politics, as I've always suspected, is** both confusing and boring. Because of that, candidates need to spend a lot of money to get us to vaguely remember their names, whereas the performers at Diamonds Cabaret do not. Donations, even when they cancel each other out, are given to advance the plans of people who believe they're making the country better, or at least their companies, many of which they think are also making the country better. What I discovered is that the hardest part of getting rid of money in politics is not how insidious the donors are but how much of it often comes from good intentions. Which is almost always where the problems begin. Just ask the TIME interns.



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# 10 Questions

Gyllenhaal's mom Naomi Foner wrote the Oscar-nominated script for *Running on Empty*



## Actor **Maggie Gyllenhaal** on how to be human, her issue with Obama and why she won't talk about the Middle East

**Your new series, *The Honorable Woman*, is centered on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Do you take a side?**

What I've been doing is trying to read as much as I can and to think and feel each day what my position is. I'm not sure that I will continue to feel this way as this conflict continues, but at the moment I feel like the show I made, the piece of art I made, does articulate really beautifully so many things I feel about the conflict. And I'm trying to keep my personal politics out of the press. I do believe in the possibility of reconciliation.

**You don't worry that, as Desmond Tutu says, the neutral have chosen the side of the oppressor?**

I'm not saying I don't take a position. I'm saying that I don't think my politics will serve what I've made right now. I used to think when I was younger it was my responsibility to stand up and yell out what I thought.

**You did that about the Iraq War, for example.**

I've done that about a lot of things. But in this case, if I want to open someone's thinking process even the tiniest bit, I don't think it does any good for me to stand up and yell. I did try to create a character in Nessa who can speak to both sides.

**Nessa, a prominent CEO, sleeps in a crazy secure panic**

**room. You're a celebrity. Do you relate to that kind of fear?**

I relate to panic sometimes. One of the things that's happening to Nessa is that she's going from being somebody who performs all the time and feels that she has to be extraordinary to somebody who is actually a human being.

**Are you saying that's related to the performative aspects of being an actor?**

Maybe it's an occupational hazard of being an actor more, but I think it's something all human beings can relate to—performing themselves, thinking they're supposed to be what they imagined they were going to be when they were 20. Look, I'm 36. That performance is just not working anymore. The humanity, the places where we're terrified or weak or flawed or wrong—and Nessa has all of that, and so do I—that's where you're in the game.

**You've said President Obama has broken your heart. How? I really believed in him, and I'm not sure what he believes in anymore.**

**Was there one event that pushed you over the edge?**

The way he's handled the NSA stuff. Look, I get it, I know. It's a complicated job. I could never do it. But I hope for a leader who will stand up and be unpopular.



**Your mother's movie *Very Good Girls* just came out. Is it her first directing job?**

It is. And I think she might be the first woman to direct her debut film as a grandmother.

**Why do you think actresses younger than you decline to call themselves feminists?**

I don't understand why you wouldn't call yourself a feminist. But I sometimes take issue with the kind of old-school feminism that cuts out the complicated gray areas. I believe every woman has the right to have an abortion. But sometimes the style in which that message is put out there, I have a hard time with.

**Too strident?**

Sometimes. The ways in which I feel there's an inequality are subtler. For example, if I don't agree with something that a director suggests on a job, or if I have my own ideas, I feel like I'm considered difficult as opposed to an exciting collaborator.

**Most of your movie choices have been political. I'm curious about *White House Down*. *White House Down* is surprisingly political. But it's not why I did it. It's a good time.**

**Was it just because you got to look at Channing Tatum?**

I didn't just get to look at him! I do all sorts of things with him. But I wouldn't have made it if it was saying things politically that I thought were wrong. I hope that's clear.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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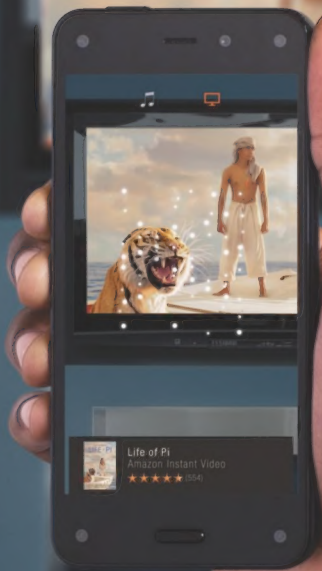
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